

MAXIMS OF STATE.



With Instructions to his SONS
and the SONS advice to
his aged FATHER.

Whereunto

Is added Observations
touching Trade and Com-
merce with the Hollander and o-
ther Nations, Proving that our
Sea and Land Commodities enrich
and strengthen other Countries a-
gainst our own.

By
Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

L O N D O N.

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MAXIMS OF STATE.

OF GOVERNMENT.



GOVERNMENT is
of two sorts. 1. *Private*,
of himself. *Sobriety*. Of
his Family; called *Oeco-*
nomy.

2. *Publick*, of the
Common-wealth, called *Polity*. A
man must first Govern himself, ere he
be fit to Govern a Family: And his
Family, ere he be fit to bear the Go-
vernment in the Common-wealth.

B

Of

Of Policie.

Policie is an Art of Government of a Common-wealth, and some part of it according to that State, or form of Government, wherein it is settled for the publick good.

State, is the frame or set order of a Common-wealth, or of the Governours that rule the same, especially of the chief and Sovereign Governour that commandeth the rest.

The State or Sovereignty consisteth in five points.

1. Making or annulling of Laws.
2. Creating and disposing of Magistrates.
3. Power over life and death.
4. Making of War, or Peace.
5. Highest or last appeal.

Where these five are, either in one or in more, there is the State.

These five points of State, rest either in,

1. One *Monarchie* or Kingdom.
2. Some few chief men for virtue and wisdom, called an *Aristocratie*.
3. Many, called a *Free-State*, or *Popular State*.

These three sorts of Government have

have respect to the common good, and therefore are just, and Lawfull States.

These 3. degenerate into 3. other Governments viz.

1. Monar- chie.	}	into	1. Tyrannie.
			2. Oligarchie.
2. Ariste- cracie,			3. Common-wealth or Government of all the common and baser sort, and therefore called a Common-wealth by an usurped Nick- name.
3. Popular Estate,	}		

These all respect their own, and not the publick good, and therefore are called Bastard Governments.

I

Monarchie.

A Monarchie, or Kingdom, is the Government of a State by one Head, or chief, tending to the common benefit of all.

Monarchie, or Kingdoms, are of three sorts touching the right, or possession of them, *viz.*

1. *Hereditary*, by descent, as the *English, French, &c.*

2. *Elective*, by suffrage of the other Orders, or some of them, as the *Polonian.*

3. *Mixt*, or of both kinds, *viz.* by descent, yet not tied to the next of blood, as the ancient *Jewish State.*

Monarchies are of two sorts touching their power, or Authority, *viz.*

1. *Intire.* Where the whole power of ordering all *State* matters, both in peace and war, doth by law & custom appertain to the Prince, as in the *English* Kingdom, where the Prince hath power to make Laws League, & War; To create Magistrates; to pardon life: Of appeal, &c. Though to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a suffrage in making Laws, yet ever subject to the Princes pleasure, nor Negative will.

2. *Limited or restrained*, that hath no full power in all the points or matters of State, as the Military King that hath not the Sovereignty in time of peace, as the making of Laws, &c. But in War only, as the *Polonian* Kings.

II.

*Aristocracy, or Senatory
State.*

AN *Aristocracie* is the Government of a Common-wealth by some competent number of the better sort, preferred for wisdom and other virtues for the publick good.

Aristocracies are of three sorts, viz. Where the *Senators* are chosen, for
1. *Virtue*, *Riches*, and the common good, as the *Venetian*.

2. *Virtue*, and the publick good without respect of wealth, as sometimes the *Roman*, when some of the *Senators* were fetched from the plough, and some from the Schools

3. *Virtue* and wealth more respecting their private, than their publick good, which inclineth towards an *Oligarchie*, or the Government of the Richer or Nobler sort, as in *Rome* towards the end,

*Free-State, or Popular
State.*

THe *Popular State* is the Government of a *State* by the choiser sort of people, tending to the publick good of all sorts; wth due respect of the better, Nobler, and Richer sort

In every *First State*, some part of the Government is, or ought to be imparted to the people; As in a Kingdom, a voice or suffrage in making Laws; and sometimes also, in levying of Arms (if the charge be great, and the Prince forced to borrow help of his Subjects) the matter rightly may be propounded to a Parliament, that the tax may seem to have proceeded from themselves. So consultations, and some proceedings in Iudicial matters, may in part be referred to them. The reason, least seeing themselves to be in no number, nor of reckoning, they mislike the state, or kind of Government: And where the multitude is discontented, there must needs be many Enemies to the present *State*. For which cause, Tyrants, (which

(which allow the people, no manner of dealing in *State* matters) are forced to bereave them of their wits and weapons, and all other means whereby they may resist, or amend themselves, as in *Rushland, Turkey, &c.*

I V.

Tyrannie.

A *Tyrannie* is the swerving, or distorting of a *Monarchie*, or the *Government* of one, tending not to the publick good, but the private benefit of himself, & his followers. As in the *Russ & Turkish Government*, where the *State* and *Wealth* of other orders, are employed onely to the upholding of the greatness of the King or Emperour. This is the worst of all the *Bastard States*, because it is the perverting of the best Regiment, to wit, of a *Monarchie*, which resembleth the Sovereign Government of God himself.

V.

Oligarchie, or the Government of a few.

A *N Oligarchie* is the swerving, or the corruption of an *Aristocracie*;

er the *Government* of some few, that are of the *Wealthier* or *Nobler* sort, without any respect of the publick good. The chief end of these *Governors*, is, their own greatness and enriching. And therefore their manner is, to prepare fit means to uphold their *Estates*. This *State* is not wholly so bad, as is the *Tyrannie*, and yet worse than the *Common-wealth*, because it respecteth the good of a few.

VI.

Common-wealth.

A *Common-wealth* is the swerving or depravation of a *Free*, or *popular State*, or the *Government* of the whole multitude of the *base* and *poorer* sort, without respect of the other *Orders*.

These two *States*, to wit; *The Oligarchie*, and *Common-wealth*, are very adverse the one to the other, and have many bickerings between them. For that the *Richer* or *Nobler* sort, suppose a right or superiority to appertain unto them in every respect, because they are superiour, but in some respects onely, to wit, in *Riches*, *Birth*, *Parentage*, &c. On the other side, the *Common-people* suppose, there ought to be an equality in

in all other things, and some *State matters*; because they are equall with the Rich or Noble, touching their *Libertie*, whereas indeed neither the one nor the other are simply equall or superiour, as touching *Government* and fitness thereunto, because they are such, to wit, because they are Rich, Noble, Free, &c. But because they are *Wise, Virtuous, Valiant, &c.* and so have fit parts to *Govern a State*.

The severall *States* are sometimes mixed, and inter-wrought one with the other, yet ever so, as that the one hath the preheminent predomination over the other, as in the humours and complexions of the body. So in the *Roman State*, the people had their *Plébiscita*, and gave the suffrage in the election of Magistrates: Yet the *Senate* (as the *State* stood) for the most part swayed the *State*, and bare the chief rule. So in the *Venetian State*, the Duke seemeth to represent a *Monarch*, and the *Senate* to be his Councell: Yet the *Duke* hath no power in *State matters*, but is like a head set on by art, that beareth no brain. And so that *State* is *Senatoricall* or *Aristocraticall*.

Causes of States and Commonwealths in general.

Causes of States, or of Commonwealths are of 3. sorts, viz.	{	1. Founding,	{	1. Measure.
		or settling a		2. Parts,
		State where		and their
		to be considered.		Qualities.
		2. Preserving a State.		
		3. Changing, and altering a State.		

Founding a State.

In founding a State } 1. Proportion.
are to be considered }
2. things. } 2. Parts.

Proportion, is a just measure or *Mediocratie* of the State, whereby it is framed & kept in that Order, as that neither it exceed nor be defective in his kind, to wit, so that a Monarch be not too Monarchical, nor strict, or absolute, as the *Russe* Kings; nor *Aristocratical*, that is over-mated or eclipsed by the Nobilitie, as the *Scottish* Kingdom, but ever respective to the other degrees. That *Aristocracie* be not too magnificent nor intire to it self, but

com

communicate with the people some commodities of State or Government, as the *Venetians* and sometimes the *Roman* allowed the people to elect certain Magistrates out of themselves, to have a Tribune, to make *Plebiscina*, &c. So a Free-State or *Common-wealth* that it be not over popular, viz. That it depress not too much the richer, wiser, nor learned sort; but admit them to offices with a Caution out of the rules and mysteries of that State. That they seek no alteration of the present State. The reason, because the moderate States in their several kinds (as all other things that observe the mean) are best framed for their continuance, because they give less cause of grudge, envy, and affecting the *wealth*, *Honour*, and *Liberty*, which they see in others that govern the State; and so are less subject to stirrings and commotions, and easiest kept in their present State wherein they are set.

Parts.

THe parts of the State, or those Magistrates that bear place or sway in the publick Government.

Parts or partakers of Publick Government, are

1. Coun-

1. *Councilor Senate*, which consulteth of all matters pertaining to War and Peace, Magistrates, &c. in admitting of whom there ought to be a more special care, that they may be men expert in *matter of Politie*, because it is their *Trade and Vocation*, as men use to chuse Pilots, and Masters of Ships, such as know the Art of *Navigatio*, and not Husband men, &c. And so the contrarie.

2. *Magistrates and Officers*, which are to be executioners of that which is consulted, and found to be expedient for the *Common-wealth*, wherein are to be observed, the kinds of Magistrates; than they be such as fit that kind of *Government*; The time of their continuance, and the manner of their election or appointing, by whom, out of whom, and in what manner they be chosen.

3. *Judges*; To determine in *Civil*, and *Criminal matters*, where are to be observed, out of whom they are to be chosen; what kinds are necessary, and the manner of *Judgement* and *Judicial proceeding*.

I. Superiours
which are to be
such & of that
kind as agree
with the State,
as Consuls for a
year, and not
perpetual Di-
ctatours in a
Senatorie State.
Prætors, & Cen-
sors, that over-
see manners &
orders of the
people.

For a King-
dom Lieutenant
of Shires, Mar-
shals, Masters
of Horse, Ad-
mirals, &c.

Inferiour, as
conservatours of
Peace, Consta-
bles, &c.

Overseers of
youth, that take
care for their
education for
civil and war-
like exercise.

Clarks

1. kinds
of Magi-
strates,

In
Magi-
strates
are to
be ob-
served.

1. civil.

Clarks of the Market that provide for the quantity, and price of victual.

Ediles for Buildings, Streets, Bounds.

Questours, or *Treasurers*, to keep and dispende the publick Treasury.

Actuaries, or *Recorders*, which keep the publick Record.

Goalers to keep prisons and Prisoners.

Surveyours of woods and fields, &c.

1. As *Bishops* or *Pastours*, *Elders*, *Wardens*.

2. *Time of Magistrates*, whereof some are perpetual, some for a time, viz. for more years, a year, half a year, according to the necessity of the *Common-wealth*, and not perpetual; or at least not *Hereditary* in a Kingdom. Yearly in an *Aristocracie*, or half yearly

yearly in a Free-State.

3. Manner of choice, by whom and how to be chosen, where especially they are to be chosen by suffrage, and not by Lot.

Causes preserving a State, or Common-wealth.

In pre- serving of States 2. things requi- red.	{	1. Mysteries, or Sophisms	{	1. General to all States.
				2. Particu- lar for eve- ry several State.
	{	2. Rules, or Actions.	{	1. General, for all States.
				2. Particular, for every State.

Mysteries, or Sophisms.

Mysteries, or Sophisms of State, are certain secret practises, either for the avoiding of danger, or averting such effects as tend to the preservation

vation of the present *State*, as it is set or founded

State Mysteries are of two sorts.

1. *Generall*: That pertain to all *States*; as first, to provide by all means, that the same degree, or part of the *Common-wealth*, do not exceed both in *Quantity* and *Quality*. In *Quantity*, as that the number of the *Nobility*, or of great persons, be not more, than the *State* or *Common-wealth* can bear. In *Quality*, as that none grow in wealth, Liberry, Honours, &c. more than it is meet for that degree; For as in weights, the heavier weights bear down the Scale: So in Common-wealths, that part of degree that excelleth the rest in *Quality* and *Quantity*, overwayeth the rest after it, whereof follow alterations, and conversions of *state*. Secondly, to provide by all means, that the middle sort of people exceed both the extreames, (*viz.*) of *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and the base rascals, and beggarly sort. For this maketh the *State* constant and firm, when both the *Extreames* are tied together by a middle sort, as it were with a band, as for any conspiracie of the rich and beggarly sort together, it is not to be feared. To these two points, the *Particular*

lar rules in *Sophisms* of every *Commonwealth*, are to be applied.

2. *Particular* : That serve for preservation of every *Commonwealth*, in that form of *Stat* wherein it is settled, as in a Kingdom. That the *Nobility* may be accustomed to bear the *Government* of the *Prince*, especially such as have their dwelling in remote places from the *Princes* eye, it is expedient to call them up at certain times to the *Princes Court*, under pretence of doing them honour, or being desirous to see, and enjoy their presence ; and to have their children, especially their eldest, to be attendant upon the *Prince*, as of special favour towards them and theirs, that so they may be trained up in duty and obedience towards the *Prince*, and be as *Hostages* for the good behaviour, and faithfull dealing of their Parents, especially, if they be of any suspected note. To that end serves the *Persian* practise, in having a Band, or Train of the *Satrapa's* children, and other Nobles to attend the Court ; which was well imitated by our Train of *Henchmen*, if they were of the Nobler sort. Again, sometimes to borrow small sums of his Subjects, and to pay them again, that he may after borrow greater

greater sums and never pay: So in an *Oligarchie*, least it decline to a *Popular State*, they deceive the people with this and the like *Sophisms*, (*viz.* They compel their own sort, to wit, the rich men, by great penalties, to frequent their Assemblies for choosing of Magistrates, for provision of Armour, war-like Exercises, making an Execution of Laws, &c. By that means seeming to bear a hard hand over the richer, but to suffer the poorer, and meaner sort to be absent, and to neglect those Assemblies under pretence, that they will not draw them from their business, and private earnings: Yet withall to cite thither some few of them, (*viz.*) so many as are easily over-matched by the richer sort, to make a shew, that they would have the people or poorer sort, partakers likewise of those matters, yet certifying those that come to their Assemblies, with the tediousnesse of consultations, greatnesse of Fines, if they should mis-do, to the end, to make them unwilling to come again, or to have to do with those Consultations, by which means, the richer sort do still govern the *State*, with the peoples liking, and good contentment.

Axioms

Axioms.

Axioms or *Rules* of pre-
serving the *State* are, {
1. *General*, that serve for
all *Comon-wealhs*.
2. *Particular*, that serve
for every *several State*.

General Rules.

1. **T**He first and principal *Rule* of
Politic to be observed in all
States, is to profess, & practise,
& maintain the true worship & *Religio*
of Almighty God prescribed unto us
in his word, which is the chief end of
all *Government*. The *Axiom*, That
God be obeyed simply without excep-
tion, though he command that which
seemeth unreasonable, and absurd to
Humane policy; as in the *Jews Com-*
mon-wealth: That all the men should
repair yearly to one place to worship
God four times, leaving none to de-
fend their coast, though being beset
with many *Enemies*. Not to sow the
seventh year, but to suffer the ground
to rest untill without respect or fear
of famine, &c.

2. To

2. To avoid the causes of *Conversion*, whereby *States* are over-thrown, that are set down in the Title of conversions; For that *Common wealth* (as naturall bodies) are preserved by avoiding that which hurteth the health and *State* thereof, and are so cured by contrary medicines.

3. To take heed, that no *Magistrate* be created or continued, contrarie to the Laws and policie of that *State*. As that in a *Se at*, there be not created a perpetual *Dictator*, as *Cesar* in *Rome*. In a Kingdom, that there be no *Senate*, or *Convention* of equall power with the Prince in *State* matters, as in *Poland*.

4. To create such *Magistrates* as love the *State* as it is settled, and take heed of the contrarie practise, as to advance Popular persons in a Kingdom, or *Aristocracie*. And secondly, to advance such as have skill to discern what doth preserve, and what hurteth or altereth the present *State*.

5. To that end to have certain Officers to pry abroad, and to observe such as do not live and behave themselves in fit sort, agreeable to the present *State*, but desire rather to bee under some other form, or kind of *Government*.

6. To take heed that Magistracies be not sold for money, nor bribe in their Offices, which is especially to be observed in that *Commonwealth*, which is governed by a few of the richer sort; For if the Magistrate gain nothing but his *Common Fees*, the common sort, and such as want honour, take in good part that they be not preferred, and are glad rather that themselves are suffered to intend private business. But if the *Magistrate* buy and sell matters, the common people are doubly grieved, both because they are debar'd of those preferments, and of that gain they see to grow by them, which is the cause that the *German Oligarchies* continue so firm, for both they suffer the poorer sort to grow into wealth, and the richer sort are by that means freed, and secured from being under the poor.

7. To take heed that the *State*, as it is settled and maintained, be not over-strict, nor exceed in his kind; (v. g.) That a Kingdom be not too Monarchicall, nor a *Popular State* too Popular: For which cause it is good, that the Magistrates sometimes yield of his right touching honour, and behave themselves familiarly with those that are equall unto them in other parts, though
in

inferiour for place and office; And sometimes popularly with the common people, which is the cause that some *Common-wealths*, though they be very simply, and unskilfully set, yet continue firm, because the Magistrates behave themselves wisely, and with due respect towards the rest that are without honour; and therefore some kind of *Moderate Popularity* is to be used in every *Common-wealth*.

8. To take heed of small beginnings, and to meet with them even at the first, as well touching the breaking and altering of Laws, as of other rules which concern the continuance of every severall *State*. For the disease and alteration of a *Common-wealth*, doth not happen all at once, but grows by degrees, which every common wit cannot discern, but men expert in **POLICIE**.

9. To provide, that that part be ever the greater in number and power which favours the *State* as now it stands. This is to be observed as a very Oracle in all *Common-wealths*.

10. To observe a mean in all the degrees, and to suffer no part to exceed or decay overmuch. As first for pr

ferments, to provide that they be rather small and short, than great and long; and if any be grown to overmuch greatness, to withdraw or diminish some part of his honour. Where these *Sophisms* are to be practised (*viz.*) to do it by parts and degrees; to do it by occasion, or colour of law, and not all at once. And if that way serve not, to advance some other, of whose virtue and faithfulness, we are fully assured, to as high a degree, or to a greater honour; and to be the friends and followers of him that excelleth, above that which is meet. As touching wealth, to provide, that those of the middlesort (as before was said) be more in number; and if any grow high, and over-charged with wealth, to use the *Sophisms* of a *Popular State*, *viz.* to send him on Embassages, and Forreign Negotiations, or imploy him in some Office that hath great charges, and little honour, &c. To which end, the *Edileship* served in some Commonwealths.

11. To suppress the Factions, and quarrels of the Nobles, and to keep other that are yet free from joyning with them in their partakings and Factions.

12. To

12. To increase or remit the Common Taxes and Contributions; according to the wealth, or want of the People and *Common-wealth*. If the people be increased in Wealth, the Taxes and Subsidies may be increased. If they be poor, and their Wealth diminish, specially by dearth, want of Traffick, &c. to forbear Taxes and Impositions, or to take little. Otherwise grudge and discontentments must needs follow. The *Sophisms* that serve for Impositions, are these, and other of like sort, To pretend business of great charge, as War, building of Ships, making of Havens, Castles, Fortifications, &c. for the Common defence; sometimes by Lotteries and like devises, wherein some part may be bestowed, the rest reserved for other expences; but Princely dealings needs no pretences.

13. To Provide that the *Discipline & Training* of youth of the better sort be such as agreeth with that *Common-wealth*: As that in a Kingdom, the sons of Noble men to be attendant at the Court, that they may be accustomed to obedience towards the Prince. In the *Senatory State*, that the sons of the *Senatours* be not idly, nor over-dain-

daintily brought up, but well instructed and trained up in *Learning, Tongues,* and *Martiall exercise;* that they may be able to bear that place in the *Common-wealth,* which their *Father* held, and contrarywise, in a *Popular State.*

14. To take heed, least their *Sophisms,* or secret practises for the continuance and maintenance of that *State,* be not discovered; least by that means they refuse and disappoint themselves, but wisely used, and be with great *secrecie.*

Particular Rules.

Rules and Axioms, for *Hereditary.*
preserving of a King- }
dom. *Conquered.*

*Kingdoms Hereditary, are
 preserved at home by
 the ordering.*

1. **H**imself, viz. By the tempering
 and moderation of the Princes
Power and Prerogative. For the less
 and more *temperate* their *Power* and
State is the more *firm,* and *stable* is
 C their

their Kingdom and Government; because they seem to be further off from a Master like, and *Tyrannicall Empire*; and lesse unequall in condition to the next degree, to wit, the *Nobility*, and so lesse subject to grudge and envy.

2. *Nobility, &c.* By keeping that degree and due *proportion*, that neither they exceed in number more than the Realm, or *State* can bear, as the *Scottish* Kingdom, and sometime the *English*, when the Realm was overcharged with the number of *Dukes*, *Earls*, and other *Nobles*; whereby the *Aubirity of the Prince* was eclipsed, and the Realm troubled with their *Factions* and *Ambitions*. Nor that any one excel in Honour, power, or wealth, as that he resemble another King within the Kingdom, as the house of *Lancaster* within this Realm. To that end, not to load any with too much Honour or preferment, because it is hard even for the best, and worthiest men, to bear their greatnesse, and high Fortune temperately, as appeareth by infinit examples in all *States*. The *Sophisms* for preventing, or reforming this inconvenience, are to be used with great caution and wisdom. If any
great

great person be to be abated, not do deal with him by *calumniation*, or *forged matter*, and so to cut him off without desert, especially if he be gracious among the people, after the *Machiavellian Policy*, which besides the injustice, is an occasion many times of greater danger towards the Prince. Not to withdraw their Honour all at once, which maketh a desperate *discontentment* in the party, and a commiseration in the people, and so greater love, if he be gracious for his virtue, and publick service. Not to banish him into forreign Countries, where he may have opportunity of practising with *Forreign States*, whereof great danger may ensue, as in the example of *Coriolanus*, *Henry the fourth*, and such like. But to use these, and the like *Sophisms*, viz. To abate their greatnesse by degrees, as *David Joabs*, *Justinian Bellisarius*, &c. To advance some other men to as great, or greater Honour, to shadow, or over-mate the greatnesse of the other. To draw from him by degrees his friends, and followers by *preferments*, *rewards*, and other good and lawfull means; especially, to be provided that these great men be not imployed in great or powerfull affairs of

the *Common wealth*, whereby they may have more opportunity to sway the *State*.

3. *People*, viz. So to order and behave himself, that he be loved, and revered of the *People*. For that the Prince need not greatly fear home conspiracies, or foreign Invasion, if he be firmly loved of his own people. The reason, for that the Rebel can neither hope for any forces for so great enterprise, nor any refuge, being discovered & put to flight, if the multitude affect their Prince: But the common people being once offended, hath cause to fear every moving, both at home and abroad. This may be effected by the Prince, if he use means and art of getting the favour of the people, and avoid those things that breed hatred and contempt; viz. if he seem as a *Tutor*, or a *Father* to love the people, and to protect them, if he maintain the peace of his Kingdom; For that nothing is more popular, nor more pleasing to the people, than is peace.

4. If he shew himself oftentimes graciously, yet with *State* and *Majesty* to his people, and receive complaints of his suppliants, and such like.

5. If

5. If he sit himself sometimes in open *Courts*, and place of *Justice* that he may seem to have a care of *Iustice* among his people. If he bestow many benefits and graces upon that *Citie*, which he maketh the *seat of his Empire*, and so make it sure and faithfull unto him, which is fit to be in the middle of his *Kingdom*, as the heart in the middle of the body, or the Sun in the middle of *Heaven*, both to divide himself more easily into all the parts of his *Dominions*; and least the furthest parts at one end move, whilst the Prince is in the other. If he go in progress many times to see his *Provinces*, especially, those that are remote.

6 If he gratifie his *Courtiers* and *Attendants* in that sort, and by such means, as that he may seem not to pleasure them with the hurt & injury of his people, as with *Minapoles*, and such like.

7 If he commit the handling of such things as procure envy, or seem grievous to his *Ministers*, but reserve those things which are gratefull, and well pleasing to himself, as the *French Kings*, who for that purpose, as may seem, have erected their *Court* at *P*

ris, which acquitteth the Prince from grudge and envy, both with the Nobles and the people.

8. If he borrows sometimes sums of money of his people, though he have no need, and pay the same justly without *disalcation* of any part by his Exchequer, or other Officer.

9. If he avoid all such things as may breed *h. tred* or *contempt* of his person which may be done, if he shew himself not too *light*, *inconstant*, *hard*, *cruel*, *effeminate*, *f. arfull*, and *dastardly*, &c But contrariwise *Religious*, *Grave*, *Just*, *Valiant*, &c. Whereby appeareth the false doctrine of the *Machiavilian Politie*, with far the better means to keep the people in obedience, than love, and reverence of the people towards the Prince.

10. If the Prince be well furnished with Warlike provision, which is to be rumoured, and made known abroad: if it be known, that he is revered, and obeyed by his peoples at home.

11. If he provide so much as lieth in him, that his neighbour Kingdoms grow not over much in power and Dominion; which if it happen, he is to joyn speedily with other Princes, which
are

are in like danger to abate that greatness, and to strengthen himself and the rest against it. An oversight of the Christian Princes towards the King of Spain.

12. If he get him Intelligencers by reward, or other means, to detect or hinder the designs of that Prince, with whom he hath differences, if any thing be intended against his state. Or at least have some of his own Lydging abroad about that Princes Court, under colour of Embassage, or some other pretence; which must be men of skill and Dexterity to serve for that turn.

13. To observe the Laws of his Country, and not to encounter them with his *Prerogative*, nor to use it at all where there is a Law, for that it maketh a secret and just grudge in the peoples hearts, especially if it tender to take from them *their commodities*, and to bestow them upon other of his COURTIERs and Ministers.

14. To provide especially, That that part, which favoureth the State as it standeth, be more potent, than the other which favoureth it not or desireth a change.

15. To make speciall choise of good and sound men to bear the place of *Magistrates*, especially of such as assist the Prince of his *Counsels*, and *Polities*, and not to lean overmuch to his own advise, contrarie to the rule of *Ma biavil*, who teacheth, That a Prince can have no good counsel, except it be in himself; his reason, because if he use the counsel of some one, he is in danger to be over-wrought, and supplanted by him; and if he counsel with more, Then he shall be distracted with the differences in opinions. As if a Prince of great, or mean wisdom, could not take the Judgement of all his *councillours* in any point of *Politic*, or of so many as he himself thinketh good, and to take it either by word, or in writing; and himself then in private peruse them all, and so after good and mature deliberation, make choise of the best, without any distraction or binding himself to the direction of one. For the Proverb is true, that two eyes see more than one; and therefore the advises, and *Consultations* of a *Senatory State*, is compared by some to a Feast, or dinner, where many contribute towards the shot; by which means they have more variety of dishes, and so better fare: and yet every man may make choice of
that

that dish that serveth him best for his
best h and appetite.

16. The Prince himself is to sit
sometimes in place of publick ju-
stice, and to give an experiment of his
wisdom and equity, whereby great re-
verence and estimation is gotten, as in
the example of *Salomon*, which may
seem the reason, why our Kings of En-
gland had their Kings Bench in Place
of publick Justice, after the manner of
the ancient Kings that sate in the Gate;
where for better performing of this
Princely duty, some speciall causes may
be selected, which may throughly be
debated and considered upon by the
Prince in Private, with the help and ad-
vice of his learned Councell, and so be
decided publickly, as before is said,
by the Prince himself; At least, the
Prince is to take accompt of every Mi-
nister of publick Justice, that it may
be known, that he hath a care of Ju-
stice, and doing right to his people,
which makes the Iusticers also to be
more carefull in performing of their
duties.

17. To be moderate in his Taxes,
and impositions; and when need doth
require to use the Subjects purse, to
do it by Parliament, and with their
con-

consents, making the cause apparent unto them, and shewing his unwillingness in charging them. Finally, so to use it, that it may seem rather an offer from his Subjects, than an exaction by him.

18. To stop small beginnings; unto this end to compound the dissensions that rise amongst the Nobles, with caution, that such as are free be not drawn into parts, whereby many times the Prince is endangered, and the whole Commonwealth set in a combustion; as in the example of the *Barons War*, and the late Wars of *France*, which grew from a quarrel betwixt the *Guise Faction*, and the other *Nobility*.

19. To stir up the people, if they grow secure, and negligent of *Armour*, and other provision for the *Commonwealth*, by some rumour or fear of danger at home, to make more ready when occasion requireth. But this seldom to be used, least it be supposed a false Alarm, when there is need indeed.

20. To have speciall care, that his children, especially, the heir apparent, have such bringing up as is meet for a King, viz. in learning, specially of
mat-

matters pertaining to *State*, and in Mar-
tiall exercise, contrary to the practise of
many Princes, who suffer their chil-
dren to be brought up in pleasure, and
to spend their time in hunting, &c.
which by reason of their defects, after-
wards is a cause of mis-government and
alteration of *State*.

II.

*Kingdoms new gotten, or pur-
chased by force, are pre-
served by these
means.*

FIRST, if they have been Subjects
before to his Ancestours, or have
the same tongue, manners, or fashions,
as have his own Countrey, it is an easie
matter to retain such Countries within
their obedience, in case the Princes
bloud of the said Countrey be wholly
extinct. For men of the same qua-
lity, tongue, and condition, do easily
shole, and combine themselves together,
so much the rather, if the people of
that Countrey have served before, and
were not accustomed to their own Li-
berty, wherein especially is to be ob-
served

served, that the Laws and customs of that purchased Countrey be not altered nor innovated, or at least it be done by little and little. So the *Burgundians* and *Acquitans* were annexed to *France*. The reason, because partly they have been accustomed to serve, and partly, 'or that they will not easily agree about any other to be their Prince, if the *Bloud Royall* be once extinguished. As for the invasion of a forreign Countrey, whereunto the Prince hath no right, or whereof the right heir is living: It is not the part of a just Civil Prince, much less a Christian Prince to enforce such a countrey; and therefore, the *Machiavillian* practises in this case, to make sure work by extinguishing wholly the *Bloud Royall*, is lewd and impertinent: The like is to be said of murthering the Natives, or the greatest part of them, to the end he may hold the rest in sure possession. A thing not onely against *Christian Religion*, but it is inhumane injustice, cruel, and barbarous.

2. The safest way is, (supposing a right) that some good part of the Natives be transplanted into some other place, and our Colonies, consisting of so many as shall be thought meet.

meet, be planted there in some part of the Province, *Castles, Forts*, and *Havens*, seized upon, and more provided in fit places, as the manner was of the *Babylonian Monarch*, which *Transplanted* 10. *Jews*: And of the *Romans* in *France*, *Tribes of the Germany*, *Britany*, & other places. The reason:

1. For that otherwise Forces of Horse and Foot, are to be maintained within the Province, which cannot be done without great charge.
2. For that the whole Province is troubled and grieved with removing and supplying the Army with victuals, carriages, &c.
3. For that Colonies are more sure and faithfull, than the rest.

As for the Natives that are removed from their former seats, they have no means to hurt, and the rest of the Natives being free from the inconvenience, and fearing that themselves may be so served if they attempt any thing rashly, are content to be quiet.

The *Turks* practise in *Asia*, where the chief grounds and dwellings are possessed by the Souldiers, whom

whom they call *Timariote*.

That the Prince have his seat and his residence, in his new purchase, especially, for a time, till things be well settled; especially if the *Province* be great and large, as the *Turks* in *Greece*: The reasons;

1. Because the presence of the Prince availeth much to keep things in order, and get the good will of his new Subjects
2. They conceive that they have refuge by the Princes presence, if they be oppressed by the Lieutenants, and inferiour Governours: Where it will be convenient for the winning the peoples hearts, that some example be made of punishing of such as have committed any violence or oppression.
3. Because being present, he seeth and heareth what is thought & attempted; and so may quickly give remedy to it, which being absent, he cannot do, or not do in time.
4. If the Prince himself cannot be present to reside, then, to take heed that the charge of Governing, or new pur-

purchases be committed to such as be sure men, and of other meet quality, that depend wholly upon the Princes favour, and not to Natives, or other of their own Subjects, that are gracious for their *Nobility*, or *Virtue*; especially, if the *Province* be great, and somewhat far distant, which may soon seduce the unsettled affections of those new subjects, As for such *Governours*, as depend wholly upon the Princes favour, being not born, but created *Noble*, they will not so easily suffer themselves to be won from their duty, and in case they would revolt, yet they are not able to make any great strength, for that the people obey them but as instruments and ministers, to keep them in Subjection, and not for any ill will.

5. To have the children of the chief Noble men, and of greatest Authority, Hostages with them in safe keeping, the more the better: For that no bond is stronger, than that of nature, to contain the Parents and Allies in obedience, and they the rest.

6. To alter the laws but by degrees one after another, and to make other that are more behoovefull for the establishing

blishing of the present Govern-
ment.

6. To keep the people quiet and peaceable, and well affected so much as may be, that they may seem by being conquered, to have gotten a protectour, rather than a Tyrant; For the *Common-People*, if they enjoy peace, and be not distracted nor drawn from their businesse, nor exacted upon beyond measure, are easily contained under obedience; Yet notwithstanding, they are to be dis-used from the practise of Arms, and other Exercises which increase courage, and be weakened of *Armor*, that they have neither spirit, nor will to rebell.

7. If there be any faction in the Countrey, to take to him the defence of the better and stronger part, and to combine with it, as *Cæsar* in *Fr nce*.

8. To look well to the *Borders*, and confining *Provinces*, and if any rule there of great, or equall power to himself, to joyn league with some other *Borderers*, though of lesse strength, to hinder the attempts (if any should be) by such neighbour Prince. For it happeneth often, that a Countrey infested by one neighbour Prince, calleth in

another, of as great, or greater power, to assist and rescue it from the other that invadeth it; So the *Romans* were called into *Greece*, by the *Ætolians*; the *Saxons*, by the *Britains*, the *Danes*, by the *Saxons*.

9. To leave their Titles and dignities to the Natives, but the command and Authority, wholly to his own.

10. Not to put much trust, nor to practise too often the *Sophism* of Policy, especially those that appertain to a Tyrannicall State, which are soon detected by men of Iudgement, and so bring discredit to the Prince, and his Policy among the wiser, and better sort of his Subjects, whereof must needs follow very ill effects.

The *Sophisms* of Tyrants, are rather to be known, than practised, (which are for the supporting of their Tyrannicall States,) by wise and good Princes, and are these, and such like as follow.

Rules Politick of Tyrants.

Rules practised by Tyrants are of 2. sorts, viz.

1. *Barbarous*, and *Professed*, which is pro-

proper to those that have got head, and have power sufficient of themselves, without others help, as in the *Turkish*, and *Russe* Government.

2. *Sophisticall*, and *Dissembled*; As in some States that are reputed for good and lawfull *Monarchies*, but inclining to *Tyrannies*, proper to those which are not yet settled, nor have power sufficient of themselves; but must use the power and help of others, and so are forced to be *Politick Sophisters*.

I.

*Sophisms of a Barbarous and
professed Tyranny.*

TO expell and banish out of his Countrey all honest means, where by his people may attain to learning, wisdom, valour and other virtues, that they might be fit for that estate, and servile condition. For that these two, learning, and martiall exercise, effect two things most dangerous to a *Tyranny*: viz *Wisdom*, and *Valour*. For that men of spirit and understanding, can hardly endure a *Servile State*.

To this end, to forbid learning of liberall Arts, and Martiall exercise; As in the *Russe Government* so *Julian the Apostata* dealt with the *Christians*. Contrariwise, to use his people to base occupations, and *Mechanicall Arts*, to keep them from idlenesse, and to put away from them all high thoughts, and manly conceits, and to give them a liberty of drinking drunk, and of other base and lewd conditions that they may be sorted, and so made unfit for great enterprises. So the *Egyptian Kings* dealt with the *Hebrews*; So the *Russe Emperour* with his *Russe* people: And *Charls* the fifth with the *Netherlanders*, when he purposed to enclose their priviledges, and to bring them under his absolute Government.

2. To make sure to him, and his State, his *Military* men by reward, liberty, and other means, especially. his Guard, or *Prætorian Band*; That being partakers of the spoil and benefit, they make like that State, And continue firm to it; as the *Turk*, his *Janizaries*; the *Russe*, his *Bojarens*, &c.

3. To unarm his people of weapons, money, and all means, whereby they may

may resist his power; And to that end, to have his set and ordinary exactions &c. Once in two, three, or four years, and sometimes yearly, as the *Turk* and *Russe*; who is wont to say, *That his people must be used as his flock of sheep, v'z. Their fleece taken from them, lest it overlade them, and grow too heavy; That they are like to his beard, that the more it was shaven, the thicker it would grow.* And if there be any of extraordinary wealth, to borrow of them in the mean while, till the Tax come about, or upon some divided matter, to confiscate their goods, as the common practise is of the *Russe* and *Turk*.

4. To be still in Wars, to the end, his people may need a Captain; and that his Forces may be kept in practise, as the *Russe* doth yearly against the *Tartar*, *Polonian*, and *Sweden*, &c.

5. To cut off such as excell the rest in wealth, favour, or nobility; or be of a pregnant, or aspiring wit, and so are fearfull to a Tyrant; and to suffer none to hold Office, or any Honour, but onely of him; as the *Turk* his *Bishae*; and the *Russe*, his *Ruzars*.

6. To forbid Guilds, Brotherhoods, Feastings and other Assemblies among
the

the people, that they have no means or opportunity to conspire, or confer together of publick matters, or to maintain love amongst themselves, which is very dangerous to a Tyrant, the *Russes* practise.

7. To have their Beagles, or l'stner in every corner, & parts of the Realm; especially, in places that are more suspect, to learn what every man saith, or thinketh; that they may prevent all attempts, and take away such as mislike their *State*.

8. To make Schism, and Division among his Subjects, v. z. To set one Noble man against another, and one Rich man against another, that through Faction & disagreement among themselves they may be weakened, and attempt nothing against him, and by this means entertaining whisperings, and complaints, he may know the secrets of both parts, and have matter against them both, when need requireth. So the *Russe* made the Faction of the *Zemsky*, and the *Oppressionie*.

9. To have strangers for his Guard, and to entertain *Parasites*, and other base and servile fellows, not too wise, and yet subtile, that will be ready for reward to do and execute what he com-

commandeth, though never so wicked and unjust. For that good men can not flatter, and wise men cannot serve a Tyrant.

All these practises. and such like, may be contracted into one or two, viz. To bereave his subjects of will and power to do him hurt, or to alter the present State. The use is Caution, not Imitation.

II.

*Sophisms of the Sophisticall,
or subtile Tyrant, to hold
up his State.*

1. TO make shew of a good King, by observing a temper and mediocrity in his Government, and whole course of life; To which end, it is necessary, That this subtile Tyrant, be a cunning Politician, or a Machiavilian at the least, and that he be taken so to be, for that it maketh him more to be feared and regarded, and is thought thereby: not unworthy for to Govern others.

2. To make shew not of severity, but of gravity, by seeming reverent,

and

and not terrible in his speech, and gesture, and habit, and other demeanour.

3. To pretend care of the Commonwealth; And to that end, to seem loath to exact Tributes, and other charges; and yet to make necessity of it, where none is: To that end to procure such War as can bring no danger toward his State, and that might easily be compounded, or some other chargeable business; and to continue it on, that he may continue his exaction and contribution so long as he list. And thereof to employ some in his publick service, the rest to hoord up in his Treasury, which is sometimes practised even by lawfull Princes, as *Edward* the fourth in his Wars against *France*, when have levied a great sum of money throughout his Realm, especially of the *Londoners*, he went over Seas, and returned without any thing doing.

4. Sometimes to give an account by open speech, and publick writing, of the expence of such Taxes and Impositions, as he hath received of his subjects, that he may seem to be a good husband, and frugal, and not a robber of the Commonwealth.

5. To

5. To that end, to bestow some cost upon publick buildings; or some other work for the Common good, especially upon the Ports, Forts, and chief Cities of his Realm, that so he may seem a benefactour, & have a delight in the adorning of his Country, or doing some good for it.

6 To forbid feasting, and other meetings, which increase love, and give opportunity to confer together of publick matters, under pretence of sparing cost for better uses, To that end the Curfew Bell was first ordained by *William the Conquerour*, to give men warning to repair home at a certain hour.

7. To take heed that no one grow to be over-great, but rather, many equally great, that they may envy, and contend one with another; and if he resolve to weaken any of this sort, to do it warily and by degrees; If quite to wreck him, and to have his life, yet to give him a lawfull tryal, after the manner of his Country; And if he proceed so far with any of great power and estimation, as to do him contumely, or disgrace, not to suffer him to escape, because contumely and disgrace, are things contrarie unto Honour,

hour,

uour, which great spirits do most desire, and so are moved rather to a revenge for their disgrace, than to any thankfulness, or acknowledging the Princes favour for their pardon or dismissal: True in *Atheists*, but not in true *Christian Nobility*.

8. To unarm his people, and store up their weapons, under pretence of keeping them safe, and having them ready when service requireth. and then to arm with them such, and so many as he shall think meet, and to commit them to such as are sure men.

9. To make schism or division under hand among his Nobility, and betwixt the Nobility and the people, and to set one Rich man against another, that they combine not together, and that himself by hearing the griefs and complaints, may know the secrets of both parts, and so have matter against them both, when it listeth him to call them to an account.

10 To offer no man any contumely or wrong, specially, about womens matters, by attempting the chastity of their Wives or Daughters, which hath been the ruin of many Tyrants, and conversion of their States. As of Tar-

D

quinus

quinius, by Brutus, Appius, by Virginius, Pisistratus, by Harmodius, Alexander Medices, Duke of Florence, Aloisus of Placentia, Rodericus, King of Spain, &c.

11. To that end, to be moderate in his pleasures, or to use them closely that he be not seen; For that men sober, or watchfull, or such as seem so, are not lightly subject to contempt, or conspiracies of their own.

12. To reward such as achieve some great or commendable enterprize; or do any speciall action for the Common-wealth, in that manner as it may seem, they could not be better regarded, in case they lived in a *Free-State*.

13. All rewards and things gratefull, to come from himself, but all punishments, exactions, and things ungratefull, to come from his Officers, and publick Ministers; And when he hath effected what he would by them, if he see his people discontented withall, to make them a Sacrifice to pacifie his Subjects.

14. To pretend great care of Religion, and of serving God, (which hath been the manner of the wickedest

Ty-

Tyrants) for that people do less fear any hurt from those, whom they do think Virtuous and Religious, nor attempt likely to do them hurt, for that they think that God protects them.

15. To have a strong and sure Guard offorreign Souldiers, and to bind them by good turns, that they having at least profit, may depend upon him and the present State; As *Caligula*, the *German* Guard, where the Nobility are many and mighty. The like is practised by Lawfull Kings, as by the *French* King.

16. To procure that other great persons be in the same fault, or case with them, that for that cause they be forced to defend the TYRANT, for their own safety.

17. To take patt, and to joyn himself with the stronger part; if the Common people, and mean degree be the stronger, to joyn with them; if the Rich and Noble, to joyn with them. For so that part with his own strength, will be ever able to overmatch the other.

18. So to frame his manners and whole behaviour, as that he may see m,

if not perfectly good, yet tolerably evil, or somewhat good, somewhat bad.

These Rules of Hypocriticall Tyrants are to be known, that they may be avoided, and met withall, and not drawn into imitation.

Preservation of an Aristocracie.

Rules to preserve a *Senatory State*, are partly taken from the common Axioms, and partly from those that preserve a Kingdom.

Preservation of an Oligarchie, by $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sophisms.} \\ \text{Rules.} \end{array} \right.$

1.]N Consultations and Assemblies about publick affairs, to order the matter, that all may have liberty to frequent their Common Assemblies, and Councils; But to impose a Fine upon the richer sort, if they omit that duty. On the other side, to pardon the people, if they absent themselves, and to bear with them under

der pretence, that they may the better intend their Occupations, and not be hindered in their trades, and earnings.

2. In election of Magistrates, and Officers: To suffer the poorer sort to vow, and abjure the bearing of Office, under colour of sparing them, or to enjoyn some great charge, as incident to the Office, which the poor cannot bear. But to impose some great Fine upon those that be rich, if they refuse to bear Office, being Elect unto it.

3. In judicall matters: In like manner to order, that the people may be absent from publick Trials, under pretence of following their business. But the Richer to be present, and to compel them by Fines, to frequent the Court.

4. In Warlike exercise and Arms: That the poor be not forced to have Armor, Horse, &c. under pretence of sparing their cost, nor to be drawn from their trades by Martiall exercises; but to compel the Richer sort to keep their proportion of Armor, Horse, &c. by excessive Fines, and to exercise themselves in War-like matters, &c.

5. To

5. To have special care of instructing their children in liberal Arts, Policy, and warlike exercise, and to observe good order and discipline. For as *Popular States* are preserved by the frequency, and Liberty of the people, so this Government of the Richer, is preserved by discipline, and good order of *Governours*.

6. To provide good store of warlike furniture, especially of *Horse & Horsemen*, and of *Armed men*, viz. Pike, &c. which are proper to the Gentry, as shot, and light furniture are for a *Popular Company*.

7. To put in practise some points of a *Popular State*; viz. To lade no one man with too much preferment; To make yearly or half years Magistrates, &c. For that the people are pleased with such things, and they are better secured by this means from the rule of one. And if any grow to too much greatness, to abate him by the *Sophisms* fit for this State.

8. To commit the Offices and Magistracies, to those that are best able to bear the greatest charges for publick matters, which both tendeth to the conservation of this State, and pleaseth the people, for that they reap some

relief, and benefit by it.

9. To the same end, To contract marriages among themselves; the rich with the rich, &c.

10. In some things which concern not the *Points*, and *matters of State*, as Electing Magistrates, Making Laws, &c. to give an equality, or sometimes a preferment to the Common People, and not to do, as in some *Oligarchies* they were wont; viz. To swear against the People, to suppress and bridle them; but rather contrary, To minister an Oath at their admission, *That they shall do no wrong to any of the People*; and if any of the richer offer wrong to any of the *Commons*, to shew some example of severe punishment.

For other *Axioms* that preserve this State, they are to be borrowed from those other rules that tend to the preserving of a *Popular*, and *Tyrannicall State*; for the strict kind of *Oligarchie* is kin to a *Tyranny*.

Preservation of } *Sophism*.
 a popular State; } *Rule, or Axiom*.

1. **I**N publick Assemblies and Consultations about matters of State, creating of Magistrates, publick Iustice, & Exercise of Arms, to practise the contrary to the former kind of Government, to wit, an *Oligarchie*. For in Popular States, the Commons and meaner sort are to be drawn to those Assemblies, Magistrates, Offices, Warlike Exercise, &c. By mulcts and rewards, and the richer sort are to be spared, and not to be forced by fine, or otherwise, to frequent these Exercises.

2. To make shew of honouring and reverencing the richer men, and not to swear against them, as the manner hath been in some Popular State; but rather to prefer them in all other matters, that concern not the State and publick Government.

3. To elect Magistrates from among the Commons by Lot, or Balloting, and not to choose any for their wealths sake.

4. To take heed, that no man bear office twice, except it be Military, where the pay, & salary, &c. is to be reserved in their

their own hands, to be disposed of by a Common-Council, &c. And to see that no man be too highly preferred.

5. That no Magistracy be perpetual, but as short as may be, to wit, for a year, half a year, &c.

6. To compel Magistrates, when their time expireth, to give an account of their behaviour and government, and that publicly before the Commons.

7. To have publick Salaries and allowance of their Magistrates, Judges, &c. And yearly dividends for the common people, and such as have most need among them.

8. To make Judges of all matters out of all sorts, so they have some aptness to perform that duty.

9. To provide that publick Judgements and Trials be not frequent; and to that end to inflict great Fines and other punishments upon Pettifoggers and Dilators, as the law of requital, &c. Because for the most part the richer and nobler, and not the Commons are indicted and accused in this Commonwealth, which causeth the rich to conspire against the State; whereby many times the popular State is turned into an *Oligarchie*, or some other Govern-

ment. Hereto tendeth that Art of Civil Law, made against Accusers and Calumniatours: *Ad Senatus-consultum Turpilianum*, l. 1. *de Calumniatoribus*.

10. In such free States as are popular, and have no revenue, to provide that publick Assemblies be not after: because they want salary for Pleaders and Oratours; And if they be rich; yet to be wary, that all the revenue be not divided amongst the Commons. For, that this distribution of the Common revenue among the multitude, is like a purse or barrel without a bottom. But to provide, that a sufficient part of the revenue be stored up for the publick affairs.

11. If the number of the poor encrease too much in this kind of State, to send some abroad out of the Cities into the next Countrey places; and to provide above all, that none do live idely, but be set to their trades. To this end, to provide that the richer men place in their Farms and Coppie-holds, such decayed Citizens

12. To be well advised what is good for this State, and not to suppose that to be fit for a popular State, that seemeth most popular; but that which is be for the continuance thereof; And

to that end, not to lay into the Exchequer or Common Treasury, such goods as are confiscate, but to store them up as holy and consecrate things, which except it be practised, confiscations, & fines of the Common people would be frequent, and so this State would decay by weakening the people.

Conversion of States in general.

Conversion of a State, is the declining of the Common wealth either to some other form of Government, or to his full and last period appointed by God.

Causes of conversions of States are of two sorts: General and Particular.

General, (*viz.*) 1. Want of Religion: *viz.* of the true knowledge and worship of God, prescribed in his word; and notable sins that proceed from thence in Prince and people, as in the examples of *Saul*, *Uzziah*, the Jewish State; the four Monarchies, and all other.

2. Want

2. Want of wisdom and good Council to keep the State, the Prince, Nobles, and people in good temper, and due proportion, according to their several order and degrees.

3. Want of Iustice either in administration (as ill Laws, or ill Magistrates) or in the execution, as rewards not given where they should be, or there bestowed where they should not be, or punishments not inflicted where they should be

4. Want of power and sufficiency to maintain and defend it self, viz. Of provision, as Armor, Money, Captains, Souldiers, &c. Execution, when the means or provision is not used, or ill used.

5. *Particular*: To be noted and collected out of the contraries of those rules, that are prescribed for the preservation of the Common-wealth.

Particular causes of Conversion of States, are of two sorts.

1. **F***oreign*: By the over greatness of invasion of some forreign Kingdom or other State of meaner power,

power, having a part within our own, which are to be prevented by the providence of the chief, and rules of policy for the preserving of every State: This falleth out very seldom for the great difficulty to overthrow a forreign State.

2. *Dome-
stick.* { Sedition or open violence
by the stronger part.
Alteration without violence.

Sedition.

Sedition is a power of inferiours opposing it self with force of Armes against the superiour power, *Quasi ditio secedens.*

Causes of Sedition are of two sorts.

<p>I. General</p>	<p>Liberty. Riches.</p>	<p>When they, that are of equal qualitie in a Commonwealth, or do take themselves so to be, are not regarded equally in all, or in any of these three. or, when they are so</p>
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Honour.

so unequal in quality, or take themselves so to be, are regarded but equally, or with less respect than those that be of less defect in these three things, or in any of them.

1. **I**N the Chief: Couetousness or oppression, by the Magistrate or higher Power, (*viz.*) when the Magistrates, especially the Chief, encrease his substance & revenue beyond measure, either with the publick or (private calamitie, whereby the Governours grow to quarrel among themselves as in *Olygarchies*) or the other degrees conspire together, and make quarrel against the Chief, as in Kingdoms: The examples of *Wat Tyler* & *Jack Straw*, &c.

2. In the Chief: Injury, when great Spirits, and of great power, are greatly wronged & dishonoured, or take themselves so to be, as *Coriolanus*, *Cyrus minor*, Earl of *Warwick*. In which cases the best way is to decide the wrong.

3. Preferment, or want of preferment; wherein some have over-much,
and

and so wax proud and aspire higher; or have more or lesse, than they deserve, as they suppose, and so in envy and disdain, seek Innovation by open faction, so *Caesar*, &c.

4. Some great necessity or calamity; So *Xerxes* after the foil of his great Army. And *Senacherib* after the losse of 185. in one night.

1. **E**Nvy, when the chief Exceed the mediocrity before mentioned, and so provoketh the Nobility, and other degrees, to conspire against him; as *Brutus Cassius*, &c. against *Caesar*.

2. Fear, viz. Of danger when one or more dispatch the Prince by secret practice or force, to prevent his own danger, as *Ariabarnus* did *Xerxes*.

2.
Particular.

2. Lust or Lechery, as *Tarquinius Superbus*, by *Brutus*; *Pisistratida*, by *Armodius*; *Appius* by *Virginii*.

Chief.

4. Contempt, For vile quality & base behaviour, as *Sardanapalu*, by *Arbaces*, *Dionysius* the younger by *Dion*.

5. Cens-

Other degrees.

5. *Contumely*; when some great disgrace is done to some of great Spirit, who standeth upon his honour and reputation, as *Caligula* by *Chæreas*.

Other degrees.

6. *Hope of Advancement*, or some great profit, as *Mithridates*, *Anobarsanes*

Alteration without violence.

Causes of alteration without violence are; 1. *Excess* of the State; when by degrees the State groweth from that temper and mediocrity wherein it was, or should have been settled, and exceedeth in power, riches, and absoluteness in his kind, by the ambition & covetousness of the chiefe immoderate taxes, and impositions, &c. applying all to his own benefit, without respect of other degrees & so in the end changeth it self into another State or form of Government, as a Kingdom into a Tyrannie, an *Oligarchy* into an *Aristocracy*.

2. *Excess*, of some one or more in the Common-wealth; viz. When some one or more in a Common-wealth grow

grow to an excellency or excess above the rest, either in honour, wealth, or virtue; and so by permission and popular favour, are advanced to the Sovereignty: By which means, popular States grow into *Oligarchies*, and *Oligarchies* and *Aristocracies* into *Monarchies*. For which cause the *Athenians* and some other free States, made their Laws of *Ostracismos*, to banish any for a time that should excell, though it were in virtue, to prevent the alteration of their State; Which because it is an unjust Law, 'tis better to take heed at the beginning to prevent the means, that none should grow to that height and excellency, than to use so sharp and unjust a remedy.

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A METHOD,

How to make use of the
Book before, in the
reading of the
Storie.



DAVID being seventy
years of age, was of
wisdom, Memory,
&c. sufficient to govern
his Kingdom; 1. Reg.
Cap. 1.

Old age is not ever unfit
for publick Government.

DAVID being of great years, and
so having a cold, dry, and impotent
body, married with Abishag, a fair maid,
of the best complexion through the whole
Realm, to revive his body and prolong
his life, 1. Reg. Chap. 1, vers. 3.

Ex-

Example of the like practise in Charles the Fifth.

DAVID being old and impotent of bodie, by the advise of his Nobles and Physicians, married a young maid called Abishag, to warm and preserve his old bodie.

Observation.

WHether David did well in marrying a maid? and whether it be lawfull for an old decayed and impotent man, to marrie a young woman; or on the other side, for an old, worn, and decrepitate woman, to marrie a young and lustie man.

For the Affirmative.

AR.G. The end of marriage is Society and mutual comfort; but there may be Societie and mutual comfort in a marriage betwixt an old, and young partie. Ergo 'tis Lawful.

Ans^w. Societie and comfort is a cause & effect of marriage; but none of the principal

pal ends of marriage : which are :

1. } Procreation of children, and so the
continuanee of mankind.
2. } The avoiding of Fornication.

As for comfort and societie they may be betwixt man and man, woman and woman, where no marriage is, and therefore no proper ends of marriage.

The Negative,

AR G. 1. That conjunction, which hath no respect to the right and proper ends, for which marriage was ordained by God, is no lawfull marriage. But the conjunction betwixt an old impotent, and young partie hath no respect to the right end, for which marriage was ordained by God. Therefore it is no lawfull marriage.

2. No contract, wherein the partie contracting, bindeth himself to an impossible condition, or to do that which he cannot do, is good or lawfull. But the contract of marriage by an impotent person with a young partie, bindeth him to an impossible condition to do that which he cannot do, viz. to perform the duties of Marriage; Therefore it is unlawfull,
For

For the same cause, the civil Law determineth a nullity in these marriages, except the woman know before the infirmity of the man, in which case she can have no wrong, being a thing done with her own knowledge and consent, because Volenti non fit injuria: — In legem Iulian. de adulteriis leg. Si Uxor, &c.

It provideth further, for the more certainty of the infirmity, That three years be expired before the dissolution of the marriage, because that men that have been infirm at the first, by reason of sickness, or some other accident, afterwards proved to be sufficient: De repudiis leg. in causis.

Defence for David, in marrying Abisbag.

IT is rather a Medicine, than a marriage, without any evil, or disordered affection.

2. It was by the perswasion of his Nobles, and Physicians.
3. It was for the publick good, to prolong the life of a worthy Prince.
4. It was with the knowledge and consent of the young maid, who was made

acquainted with the Kings infirmity, and to what end she was married unto him; who if she did it for the common good, and for duties sake, having withall the gift of continency, she is to be commended; if for ambition, or some vain respect, it is her own, and not Davids fault.

Politicall Nobilitie.

Adonijah aspiring to the Kingdom.

First, took the advantage of Davids affection and kindnesse towards him, and make him secure of any ill dealing.

Secondly, of his age and infirmities, disabling his Father as unfit for Government.

Thirdly, blazed his title, and Right to the Crown.

Fourthly, got him Chariots, Horse-men, and Foot-men, and a guard to make shew of State.

Fifthly, being a comly, and goodly Person, made a popular shew of himself, and his qualities.

Sixt-

Sixthly, joyned to himself in Faction Joab, the Generall of the Army, who was in displeasure for murthering of Abner, and Amaza, and feared that David would supply Benajah in his place, and so was discontented. And Abiather the high Priest, that was likewise discontented with David, for the preferment of Zadok.

Seventhly, had meetings with them, and other his confederates under pretence of a vow, and offering at the Fountain of Raguel, in the confines of Judea.

Eighthly, made a shew of Religion by Sacrificing, &c.

Ninthly, made himself familiar with the Nobles and people, and entertained them with feasting.

Tenthly, drew into his part the chief Officers of the Court, and Servants to the King, by rewards, Familiarity, &c.

Eleventhly, disgraced and abased the Competitor, and such as he knew would take part with him, and concealeth his ambition, and purpose from them.

Twelfthly, had Jonathan a Favourite of the Court, and near about the King to give him intelligence, if any thing were discovered, and moved at the Court, whilest

whilest himself was in hand about his practise.

OBSERVATIONS.

Ways of such as aspire to the Kingdom, and marks to discern them.

First, they wind into the Princes favour by service, officiousnesse, flatterie, &c. to plant him in a good opinion of their loyalty and faithfulness, thereby to make him secure of their practises.

2. They take advantage of the Princes infirmities, age, impotencie, negligence, sex, &c. And work upon that by disabling the Prince, and secret detracting of his State, and Government.

3. They blaze their Title, and claim to the Crown, (if they have any with their friends and favourites.

4. They provide them in secret of extraordinary forces, and furniture for the wars, make much of good Souldiers, and have a pretence (if it be espied) of some other end, as for the Kings honour or service, and to be in readinesse against foreign enemies, &c.

E

5. They

5. They make open shew of their best qualities, and comelinesse of their persons (which though it be vaine as a dum's shew, it is very effectuell to win the liking of the popular sort, which according to the rule of the election of Kings, in the Bees Common wealsh, think that Forma est digna imperare) Activitie, Nobilitie, Ancestrie, &c.

6. To have their blazers abroad to see out their virtues, and to prepare their friends in every Province.

7. To draw into their party, and make sure unto them of the chief Peers, and men of best quality, such as are mightiest and most gracious with the souldiers, and the Militarie men, and most subtile and politick, especially such as be ambitious and discontent with the State.

8. To have meetings for conference under some pretence of some ordinarie matter in some convenient place, not too near, nor too far off, but where friends may best resort and assemble unto them without suspicion.

9. To take up a shew, and pretence of Religion more than before, and beyond the practise of their former life.

10. They use popular courtesies (which in a great person is very effectuell) feasting, liberality, gaming, &c.

11. To be over liberall, & win to them by gifts, familiaritie, &c. the chief Officers of the Court, and Governours of State.

12. To have some near about the Prince, to keep them in credit, and common suspicion, if any arise.

13. To disgrace such as they know to be sure and faithfull to the Prince, & present State, or to the competitor, and to bring them into contempt by slander, detraction, and all means they can, and to conceal the designs from them, lest they be discovered before they be too ripe.

14. To have some spie near about the Prince, to advertise them if any inckling suspicion arise, whilest themselves are practising.

Note the practises of Absolom, 2 Sam.

16. And of Cyrus minor in Xenophon; Περὶ ἀραβισμῶς. cap. 1.

Politically Prince.

David being a most worthy and excellent Prince for wisdom, valour, religion,

E 2 and

and justice, and so highly deserving of the Com-
mon-wealth, yet grown
into age, grew withall in-
to contempt; & had ma-
ny both of his Nobles, &
common people, that fell
from him: first with *Abso-
lom*, then with *Adoniah*,
who affected the King-
dom, and rebelled against
him: For remedie where-
of, he stirred up himself
to publick actions, which
might shew his vigour &
sufficiencie to manage the
affairs of his Kingdom.

1. **A**fter the victorie against *Abso-
lom*, he forced himself to forbear
mourning, and shewed himself to his dis-
contented Army; when all were like to
fall from him, for his unreasonable sorrow
and lamentation for his Son.

2. *As-*

2. After the victorie, he caused a general convention to be assembled of the whole Nation, to bring him home with honour to Jerusalem, which was a renewing, and re-establishing of him, 2 Sam. 19. 12.

3. He gave an experiment of his power and authority, by deposing a person of great authority and estimation, to wit Iobab, General Captain of the Armie, and advancing Amasa to his place.

4. He sent kind messages to Jerusalem, and to other chief and head towns, and special men of Iudea, his contribute, putting them of their alliance with him with these words That they were of his own flesh and blood, with protestation of his special love and affection towards them, to provide them with the like kindness and affection towards him.

5. He assembled a Parliament of his whole Realm, and took occasion upon the designing of his successor, to commend unto them the succession of his house, and the continuance and maintenance of Gods true worship and religion then established, and gave a grave and publick charge to his Successor now designed, touching the manner of his government, and maintaining of religion, 1. Chron. 12. 13.

6. He shewed his bountie and magni-

and justice, and so highly
deserving of the Com-
mon-wealth, yet grown
into age, grew withall in-
to contempt, & had ma-
ny both of his Nobles, &
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6. He shewed his bountie and magnifi-

78 Sir Walter Raleigh's Maxims,
cence in congesting matter for building of
the Temple, as gold, silver, brasse, &c. And
caused it to be published and made known
to the Parliament and whole Nation,
1. Chron. 22. 13.

7. He revived the Church Govern-
ment, and set it in a right order, assigning
to every Church Officer his place and
function.

8. He suppressed the faction of Adoni-
jah, and ordained Solomon his Successor,
1 Kings 1. 21. By these means he retained
his Majestic and Authority in his old
age, as appeares by the effect; for that
being bed rid, he suppressed the faction of
Adonijah, (which was grown mighty, and
was set on foot) with his bare command-
ment, and signification of his pleasure, and
so he died in peace.

FINIS.

(92)
SIR
WALTER RALEIGH'S
INSTRVCTIONS
to his
S O N N E:
and to Posteritie.

Corrected, & enlarged according
to the Authours own Cop.e.



LONDON,
Printed for W. Shears Juniors
and are to be sold at the
Blue Bible in Covent-
Garden. 1656.



SIR

Walter Raleigh,

To

His SON.

CHAP. I.

*Virtuous persons to be made
choice of for friends.*

THere is nothing more
becomming any wise
man, than to make
choice of friends, for
by them thou shalt
be judged what thou art: let
them therefore be wise and vir-
tuous, and none of those that follow
thee for gain; but make election ra-
ther

the of thy betters, than thy Inferiours, shunning always such as are poore and needy: for if thou givest twenty gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such men will become thy mortal enemies: Take also especial care, that thou never trust any friend or servant, with any matter that may endanger thine estate; for so shalt thou make thy self a bond-slave to him that thou trustest, and leave thy self always to his mercy: And be sure of this, thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years, whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgement, and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one, will be discovered. Such therefore as are thy inferiours, will follow thee but to eate thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them, they will hate thee; and such kind of men, if thou preserve thy estate, will always be had: And if thy friends be of better quality than thy self, thou mayest be sure of two things: the first, That they will be more carefull to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose then thou hast: the econd, They will esteem thee

thee for thy self, and not for that which thou doest possesse; but if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill (from which I hope God will blesse thee) then therein trust no man; for every mans folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I perswade thee to associate thy self with thy betters, or at least with thy Peers, yet remember always that thou venter not thy estate with any of those great ones, that shall attempt unlawfull things, for such men labour for themselves, and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is meer madnesse: And great men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a mean of their advancement, than acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand examples, and I my self know it, and have tasted it in all the course of my life; when thou shalt read and observe the Stories of all Nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like: Let thy love therefore be to the best,

so long as they do well ; but take heed that thou love God, thy Countrey, thy Prince, and thine own estate, before all others : for the fancies of men change, and he that loves to day, hateth to morrow ; but let reason be thy School-mistresse, which shall ever guide thee aright.

C H A P. II.

*Great care to be had in the
choosing of a Wife.*

THE next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a Wife, and the onely danger therein, is beauty, by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments, to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none, that ever resisted that Witchery ; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things, which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantasie in that appetite, before all other worldly desires, leaving

the care of honour, credit, and safety in respect thereof; But remember, that though these affections do not last, yet the bond of Marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and therefore better to be borne withall in a Mistresse, than in a Wife, for when thy humour shall change, thou art yet free to chuse again (if thou give thy self that vain liberty.) Remember secondly, that if thou marry for Beauty, thou bindest thy self for all thy life for that, which perchance will neither last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the degree dieth when it is attained, & the affection perisheth, when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking Child, that then thou didst love thy Nurse, and that thou wert fond of her, after a while thou didst love thy Drie-nurse, and didst forget the other, after that thou didst also despise her; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years; and therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link, and after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thy self, & see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third Love: yet I wish thee above all the rest, have a care thou dost

dost not marry an uncomely Woman for any respect; for comelinelie in Children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses, and other beasts, value the shape and comelinelie of thy Children, before alliances or riches; have care therefore of both together, for if thou have a fair Wife, and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thy self that Love abideth not with want; for she is thy companion of plenty and honour, for I never yet knew a poor Woman exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This *Babshaba* taught her Son *Solomon*; *Favour is deceitfull, and Beauty is vanitie*; she saith further, *That a wise woman over-seeeth the ways of her Household, and eateth not the bread of idleness*.

Have therefore ever more care, that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thy self belov'd on her; and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations: first, If thou perceive she have care of thy estate, and exercise her self therein; the other, If she study to please thee, and be sweet unto thee in conversation, without thy instruction, for Love needs no teaching

ing, nor precept. On the other side, be not lower or stern to thy wife, for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred: Let her have equall part of thy Estate whilest thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and most times to an enemy, for he that shall marry thy wife, will despise thee, thy memory, and thine, and shall possesse the quiet of thy labours; the fruit which thou hast p'anted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared, and gotten with care and travel: Yet alway remember that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate; especially, if thou hast few Children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but onely during her widowhood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor sit to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livest up.

on earth whilest it lasteth. To conclude, Wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transerre them, and diminish them, either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liueth in thy son, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred. Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy flower, will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and sorrow. Thy best time will be towards thirty, for as the younger times are unfit, either to chule or to govern a wife and family; so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the education of thy Children, which being left to strangers, are in effect lost, and better were it to be unborn, than ill bred; for thereby thy posterity shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou shalt spend the prime and summer of thy life with Harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy estate, and endanger thy life; and be sure of this, that how many Mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt
pur-

purchase to thy self; for there never was any such affection, which ended not in hatred or disdain. Remember the saying of Solomon, *There is a way which seemeth right to a man, but the issues thereof are the wages of death*; for howsoever a lewd woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled times, yet remember that thou sowest on the sands, & dost mingle the vital blood with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred onely. Bestow therefore thy youth so, that thou mayest have comfort to remember it, when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof: whilst thou art young thou wilt think it will never have an end; but behold, the longest day hath his evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again, use it therefore as the Spring time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant, and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

CHAP. III.

*Wiseſt men have been abuſed
by flatterers.*

TAKE care thou be not made a fool,
by flatterers, for even the wiſeſt
men are abuſed by theſe. Know there-
fore, that flatterers are the worſt kind
of Traitors; for they will ſtrengthen
thy imperfections, encourage thee in
all evils, correct thee in nothing, but ſo
ſhadow and paint all thy vices, and fol-
lies, as thou ſhalt never, by their will,
diſcern evil from good, or vice from
virtue. And becauſe all men are apt to
flatter themſelves, to entertain the ad-
ditions of other mens praises is moſt
perillous. Do not therefore praise thy
ſelf, except thou wilt be counted a
vain glorious fool, neither take delight
in the praises of other men except thou
deſerve it, and receive it from ſuch as
are worthy and honeſt, and will withall
warn thee of thy faults; for flatterers
have never any virtue, they are ever
baſe, creeping, cowardly perſons. A flat-
terer is ſaid to be a beaſt that biteth
ſmiling, it is ſaid by *Iſaiah* in this man-
ner

ner: *My people, they that praise thee seduce thee, and disorder the paths of thy feet;* and David desired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, so are they obsequious and full of protestations; for as a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an Ape, who because she cannot defend the house like a dog, labour as an ox, or bear burdens as a horse, doth therefore yet play tricks, and prouoke laughter: Thou mayest be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend, for he adventures thy mislike, and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few men that can endure it, every man for the most part delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most uniuersall follies which bewitcheth mankind.

CHAP. IV.

Private quarrels to be avoided.

BE carefull to avoid publick disputations at Feast, or at Tables, among

mong cholerick or quarrellsom persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted or familiar with Ruffians, for thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel, as in a battel, wherein thou mayest get honour to thy self and safety to thy Prince and Countrey; but if thou be once engaged, carry thy self bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private fight, be well advised in thy words and behaviour, for honour and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall.

lest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publickly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty cannot endure to be taxed but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty cannot endure unjust reproch. And as there is nothing more shamefull and dishonest, than to do wrong, so truth it self curteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place. Remember the divine, saying, *He that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life.* Do therefore right to all
-men

men where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love, and so bear to speak evil things of men, though it be true (if thou be not constrained) and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuse any man of any crime, if it be not to save thy self, thy Prince, or Countrey; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to Treason it self) than to be an Accuser. Notwithstanding I would not have thee for any respect loose thy reputation, or endure publick disgrace, for better it were not to live, than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from thy self; if it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms, than to hazard thy self; for if thou overcome, thou art vnder the cruelty of the Law, if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in argument; let it be with wise and sober men, of whom thou mayest learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons, for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter what they have learned from thee, for their own. But if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honour,

nour, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much also, is a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds; and as Solomon saith, *The mouth of a wise man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth*: And by thy words and discourses, men will judge thee. For as Socrates saith, *Such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such will thy deeds as thy affections; and such thy life as thy deeds*. Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, what thou maintainest; whether touching Religion, State, or vanity; for if thou erre in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish. He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a Citie without walls, and lesse pains in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue; therefore, if thou observe this rule in all assemblies, thou shalt seldom erre; restrain thy choller, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good and greatest evil that is done in the world.

Ac-

According to Solomon, Life and death are in the power of the tongue: and as Euripides truly affirmeth, Every unbridled tongue, in the end shall find it self unfortunate; for in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I ever found that mens fortunes are oftner made by their tongues than by their virtues, and more mens fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction, ariseth from unadvised speech, and in much speech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thy self observe these things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that erre in that kind, and not to hearken to Tale-bearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busie themselves with other mens estates, that creep into houses as spies, to learn news which concerns them not; for assure thy self such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them proper, or respected amongst worthy or wise men.

Take

Take heed also that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a Coward; for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man he can have no credit, neither in publick nor private; and if there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in S. *John* saith, *That it is a vice proper to Satan*, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in Truth; and the gain of lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the *Proverbs*, *That God hateth false lips; and he that speaketh lies, shall perish.* Thus thou mayest see and find in all the Books of God, how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world, believe it, that it never did any man good (except in the extremity of saving life;) for a liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

C H A P.

CHAP. V.

*Three Rules to be observed for
the preservation of a
mans estate.*

A MONGST all other things of the World, take care of thy estate, which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things; First, that thou know what thou hast, what every thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy Servants and Officers. The second is, that thou never spend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every mans estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thy self to be wounded for other mens faults, and scourged for other mens offences; which is, to be surety for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggered and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other mens riot, and the charge of other mens folly and prodigality; if thou smart, smart for thine own sins, and above all things, be not made an Als

to carry the burdens of other men: If any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare, if he press thee farther, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to it self, than off-reth it: If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim: if for a Church-man, he hath no inheritance: if for a Lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or word, to abuse thee: if for a poor man, thou must pay it thy self: if for a rich man, it need not: therefore from Suretiship, as from a Man-slayer, or Enchanter, bless thy self; for the best profit and return wilbe this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thy self, thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy Father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withall, thou, and thy qualities shall be despised: Besides, poverty is oft times sent as a curse of God, it is a shame amongst men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of

F

every

every worthy spirit; thou shalt neither help thy self nor others, thou shalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to shew them, thou shalt be a burthen, and an Eye-sore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company, thou shalt be driven basely to beg, and depend on others, to flatter unworthy men, to make dishonest shifts; and to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds: Let no vanity therefore, or perswasion draw thee to that worst of wordly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor, and thy honest Friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves, and thine own fame, where it is said in the Proverbs, *That he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger, and he that hateth suretiship is sure.* It is further said, *The poor is hated even of his own neighbour, but the rich have many friends.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thy self, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost;
be

be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

CHAP. VI.

*What sort of Servants are
fittest to be enter-
tained.*

LEt thy servants be such as thou mayest command, and entertain none about thee but Yeomen, to whom thou givest wages; for those that will serve thee without thy hire, will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy fare: if thou trust any Servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for tediousness, neglect it. I my self have thereby lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity to scorn; and besides, tis the way to make thy servants thieves, which else would be honest.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

*Brave Rags wear soonest out
• of Fashion.*

EXceed not in the humour of rags
and braverie; for these will soon
wear out of Fashion; but money in
thy Purse will ever be in Fashion; and
no man is esteemed for gay Garments,
but by Fools and Women.

CHAP. VIII.

*Riches not to be sought by
evil means.*

ON the other side, take heed that
thou seek not Riches basely, nor
attain them by evil means, destroy
no man for his wealth, nor take any
thing from the Poor; for the cry and
complaint thereof will pierce the Hea-
vens. And it is most detestable be-
fore God, and most dishonourable be-
fore worthy men, to wrest any thing
from

from the needy and labouring Soul. God will never prosper thee in ought, if thou offend therein: But use thy poor neighbours and Tenants well, pine not them and their children, to adde superfluity and needlesse expences to thy self. He that hath pitie on another mans sorrow, shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the misery of another, shall one time or other fall into it himself. Remember this Precept, *He that hath mercy on the poor, lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompence him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for poor, which are vagabonds and beggers, but those that labour to live, such as are old and cannot travell, such poor widows and fatherlesse children as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor Tenants that travell to pay their Rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or carelesse expences; on such have thou compassion, and God will blesse thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowfull, defer not thy gift to the needy, for if he curse thee in the bitternesse of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

*What Inconveniencies happen
to such as delight in
Wine.*

TAKE especiall care that thou delight not in Wine, for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth naturall heat, brings a mans stomach to an artificiall heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men; hated in thy servants, in thy self and companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious vice, And remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice, than to it, for all other vanities and sins are recovered, but a Drunkard will never shake off the delight of beastlinesse; for the longer it possesseth a man, the more he will delight in it, and the elder he groweth,
the

the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the spirits, and destroyeth the body, as Ivie doth the old Tree; or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the Nut.

Take heed therefore that such a curelette Canker possesse not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death, thou shalt only leave a shamefull infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their Father. *Anacharsis* saith, *The first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madnesse*; but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted; for it putteth fire to fire; and wasteth the naturall heat and seed of generation. And therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a generall rule, That thou never add any artificiall heat to thy body by Wine or Spice, untill thou find that time hath decayed thy naturall heat, and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to Art: *Who have misfortune, saith So-*

lomon, who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes? even they that sit at wine, and strain themselves to empty Cups: Plinie saith, wine maketh the hand quivering, the eye waterie, the night unquiet, bad dreams, a stinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things.

Whosoever loveth Wine, shall not be trusted of any man; for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh a man not onely a beast, but a mad man; and if thou love it, thy own Wife, thy Children, and thy friends will despise thee. In drink men care not what they say, what offence they give, they forget comelines, commit disorders; and to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all; to whom we daily pray for health, and a life free from pain: and yet by drunkenness, and gluttony, (which is the drunkenness of feeding) we draw on, saith Hesiod, a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age. And S. Augustine describeth Drunkenness in this manner: *Ebrietas est blandus Dæmon, dulce venenum*
suave

suave peccatum; quam, qui habet, seipsum non habet; quam qui facit, peccatum non facit, sed ipse est peccatum.

Drunkennes is a flattering Devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin; which whosoever hath, hath not himself, which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit sin, but he himself is wholly sin.

Innocentius saith, Quid turpius ebrioso cui sator in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, promit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur, nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, & quid non aliud designat malum, secundi calices quem non ferere discretum?

What is filthier than a drunken man to whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling in the bodie; which uttereth foolish things, and revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate, and face transformed? Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?

When **DIOGENES** saw a house to be sold, whereof the owner was given to drink, I thought at the last,

quoth Diogenes, he would spue out a whole house; *Sciebam inquit; quod domus tandem evomeret.*

CHAP. X.

*Let God be thy Protector and
Director in all thy
Actions.*

NOW for the World, I know it too well, to perswade thee to dive into the practises thereof, rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God, let him be the Author of all thy actions, commend all thy endeavours to him that must either wither or prosper them, please him with prayer, lest if he frown, he confound all thy fortunes and labours,

Sir *walter Raleigh* to his Son. 107
labours, like the drops of Rain on the
sandy ground: let my experienced
advice, and fatherly instructions, sink
deep into thy heart. So God di-
rect thee in all his ways,
and fill thy heart with
his grace.

FINIS.





The dutifull

A D V I C E

OF

A LOVING SON

To his

AGED FATHER.

SIR,



Humbly beseech you,
both in respect of the
honour of God, your
duty to his Church, and
the comfort of your
own soul, that you se-
riously consider in what scarms you
stand; and weigh your self in a Chri-
stian ballance; taking for your coun-
terpoise the judgements of God : Take
heed in time that the word *T E K E L*,
writ-

written of old against *Belshazzar*, and interpreted by *Daniel*, be not verified in you, whose exposition was, *You have been poised in the scale, and found of 100 light weight.*

Remember that you are now in the waining, and the date of your pilgrimage well nigh expired, and now that it becometh you to look towards your Countrey, your forces languisheth, your senses impair, your body droops, and on every side the ruinous Cottage of your faint and feeble flesh, threateneth the fall: And having so many harbingers of death to premonish you of your end, how can you but prepare for so dreadfull a stranger. The young man may die quickly, but the old man cannot live long: the young mans life by casualty may be abridged, but the old mans by no physick can be long adjourned, and therefore if green years should sometimes think of the grave, the thoughts of old age should continually dwell in the same.

The prerogative of Infancy is Innocency; of Child-hood, reverence; of Man-hood, maturity; and of old age, wisdom.

And

And seeing then that the chiefeſt properties of wiſdom, are to be mindfull of things paſt, carefull for things preſent, and provident for things to come: Uſe now the priviledge of natures talent, to the benefit of your own ſoul, and procure hereafter to be wiſe in well doing, and watchfull in the foreſight of future harms. To ſerve the world you are now unable, and though you were able, yet you have little cauſe to be willing, ſeeing that it never gave you but an unhappy welcome, a hurtfull entertainment, and now doth abandon you with an unfortunate fare-well.

You have long ſowed in a field of flint, which could bring nothing forth but a crop of cares, and afflictions of ſpirit, rewarding your labours with remorse, and affording for your gain, eternal danger.

It is now more than a ſeaſonable time to alter the courſe of ſo unthri-ving a husbandry, and to enter into the field of Gods Church, in which, ſowing the ſeed of repentant ſorrow, and watering them with the tears of humble contrition, you may hereafter reap a more beneficial harveſt, and gather
ther

ther the fruits of everlasting comfort

Remember, I pray you, that your spring is spent, your summer over-past, you are now arrived at the fall of the leaf; yea, and winter colours have long since stained your hoary head.

Be not carelesse (saith Saint Augustine) though our loving Lord bear long with offenders; for the longer he stays, not finding amendment, the sorer he will scourge when he comes to judgement: And his patience in so long forbearing, is only to lend us respite to repent, and not any wise to enlarge us leisure to sin.

He that is tossed with variety of storms, and cannot come to his desired Port, maketh not much way, but is much turmoyled. So, he that hath passed many years, and purchased little profit, hath a long being, but a short life: For, life is more to be measured by well doing, than by number of years; Seeing that most men by many days do but procure meny deaths, and others in short space attain to the life of infinite ages; what is the body without the soul, but a corrupt car-kasse? And what is the soul without God,

God, but a sepulchre of sin?

If God be the Way, the Life, and the Truth, he that goeth without him, strayeth; and he that liveth without him, dieth; and he that is not taught by him, erreth.

Well (saith Saint *Augustine*) God is our true and chiefest Life, from whom to revolt, is to fall; to whom to return, is to rise; and in whom to stay, is to stand sure.

God is he, from whom to depart, is to die; to whom to repair, is to revive; and in whom to dwell, is life for ever. Be not then of the number of those that begin not to live, till they be ready to die: and then after a foes desert, come to crave of God a friends entertainment.

Some there be that think to snatch Heaven in a moment, which the best can scarce attain unto in the maintenance of many years; and when they have glutted themselves with worldly delights, would jump from *Dive Diet* to *Lazars* Crown, from the service of Satan, to the solace of a Saint.

But be you well assured, that God is not so penurious of friends, as to hold himself and his Kingdom saleable,

able for the refuse and reversion of their lives, who have sacrificed the principall thereof to his enemies, and their own brutish lust; then onely ceasing to offend, when the ability of offending is taken from them.

True it is, that a thief may be saved upon the crosse; and mercy found at the last gasp: But will (saith S. Augustine) though it be possible, yet it is scarce credible, that he in death should find favour, whose whole life deserved death; and that the repentance should be more excepted, that more for fear of hell, and love of himself, than for the love of God, and loathsomnesse of sin, crieth for mercy.

Wherefore, good S I R, make no longer delays; but being so near the breaking up of your mortall house, take time before extremity, to pacifie Gods anger.

Though you suffer the bud to be blasted, though you permitted the fruits to be perished, and the leaves to drie up; yea, though you let the boughs to wither, and the body of your tree to grow to decay, yet (alas) keep life in the root, for fear lest the whole tree become fuel for hell fire;

For

For surely where the tree falleth, there it shall lie, whether towards the South or to the North, to heaven, or to hell; and such sap as it bringeth forth, such fruit shall it ever bear

Death hath alreadie filed from you the better part of your natural forces, and left you now to be Lees, and remissalls of your wearyish and dying days.

The remainder whereof, as it cannot be long, so doth it warn you speedily to ransom your former losses; for what is age, but the Calends of death? & what importeth your present weakness, but an earnest of your approaching dissolution? you are now imbarcked in your finall voyage, and not far from the stint and period of your course.

Be not therefore unprovided of such appurtenances as are behooveful in so perplexed and perrilous a Journey; death it self is very fearfull, but much more terrible in respect of the judgement it summoneth us unto.

If you were now laid upon your departing bed, burthened with the heauie load of your former trespasses, and gored with the sting and prick of a fostered

stercor'd conscience; if you felt the
cramp of death wresting your heart-
strings, and ready to make the ruefull
divorce between body and soul: if you
lay parting for breath, and swimming
in a cold and pale sweat, wearied with
strugling against your deadly pangs, O
what would you give for an hours re-
pentance; at what rate would you va-
lue a days contrition? Then worlds
would be worth less in respect of a lit-
tle respite, a short truce would seem
more precious then the treasures of an
Empire, nothing would be so much
esteemed as a short time of truce, which
now by days, and months, and years,
is most lavishly mispent.

Oh how deeply would it wound your
woefull heart when looking back into
your former life, you considered many
hainous and horrible offences com-
mitted, many pious works, and godly
deeds omitted, and neither of both re-
pentred, your service to God promised,
and not performed.

Oh how unconsolably were your
case, your friends being fled, your sen-
ses affrighted, your thoughts amazed,
your memory decayed, and your whole
mind agast, and no part able to per-
form

form what it should ; but onely your guilty conscience pestered with sin , that would continually upbraid you with many bitter accusations.

Oh what would you think then, being stripped out of this mortall weed , and turned out both of service and house-room of this wicked world, you are forced to enter into uncouth and strange paths, and with unknown and ugly company, to be convented before a most severe Judge, carrying in your conscience your Inditement , written in a perfect Register of all your misdeeds, when you shall see him prepared to give sentence upon you , against whom you have so often transgressed, and the same to be your Umpire , whom by so many offences you have made your enemy , when not onely the Devil, but even the Angels would plead against you and your own self, in despite of your self, be your own most sharp appeacher.

Oh what would you do in these dreadfull exigents, when you saw the ghastly Dragon, and huge gulph of hell , breaking out with most fearfull flames, when you heard the weeping, wailing , and gnashing of teeth ; the
rage

rage of those hellish monsters, the hor-
rour of the place, the terrour of the
company, and the eternity of all those
torments.

Would you then think them wise
that should delay in so weighty mat-
ters, and idly play away the time al-
lotted, to prevent these intolerable ca-
lamities? Would you then count it
secure, to nurse in your own bosom so
many Serpents as sins? and to foster
in your soul so many malicious accu-
sers, as mortall and horrible offences?
Would you not think one life too lit-
tle to repent in for so many, and so
great iniquities, every one whereof
were enough to throw you into those
unspeakable and intolerable torments.

And why then (alas!) do you not at
the least devote that small remnant,
and surplussage of these your later
days, procuring to make an atone-
ment with God, and to free your
Soul and Conscience from that corrup-
tion, which by your fall hath crept in-
to it.

Those very eyes that behold, and
read this discourse, those very ears
that are attentive to hear it, and that
very understanding that considereth
and

and conceiveth it, shall be cited as certain witnesss of these rehearsed things. In your own body shall you experience these deadly Agonies, and in your Soul shall you feelingly find these terrible fears; yea, and your present estate, is in danger of the deepest harms, if you do not the sooner recover your self into that fold and family of Gods faithfull servants.

What have you gotten by being so long a customer to the World, but false ware, suitable to the shop of such a merchant, whose traffick is toyl, whose wealth is trash, and whose gain is miserie? What interest have you reaped, that might equall your detriment in grace and virtue? Or what could you find in the vale of tears, that was answerable to the favour of God, with losse whereof, you were contented to buy it?

You cannot now be inveigled with the passions of youth, which making a partiality of things, sets no distance between counterfeit and currant, for these are now worn out of force, by tract of time are fallen into reproof, by triall of their folly.

Oh let not the crazie cowardnesse of
flesh

flesh and bloud, daunt the prowesse of an intelligent person, who by his wisdom cannot but discern how much more cause there is, and how much more needfull it is to serve God, than this wicked world.

But if it be the ungrounded presumption of the mercy of God, and the hope of his assistance at the last plunge (which indeed is the ordinary lure of the devil) to reclaim sinners from the pursuit of Repentance. Alas, that is too palpable a collusion to mislead a sound and serviceable man, howsoever it may prevail with sick and ill-affected judgements: who would rely upon eternall affairs, upon the gliding slipperinesse, and running streams of our uncertain life? who, but one of distempered wits, would offer fraud to the Decipherer of all thoughts; with whom dissemble we may to our cost, but to deceive him, is impossible.

Shall we esteem it cunning to rob the time from him, and bestow it on his enemies, who keepeth tale of the least minutes, and will examine in the end how every moment hath been employed. It is a preposterous kind of policie, in any wise conceit to fight
against

against God, till our weapons be blunted, our forces consumed, our limbs impotent, and our best time spent; and then when we fall for faintness, and have fought our selves almost dead, to presume on his mercy.

Oh! no, no, the wounds of his most sacred body, so often rubbed, and renewed by our sins, and every part and parcel of our bodies so divers, and sundry ways abused, will be then as so many whet-stones and incentives, to edge and exasperate his most just revenge against us.

It is a strange piece of Art, and a very exorbitant course, when the Ship is sound, the Pylot well, the Marriners strong, the Gale favourable, & the Sea calm; to ly idly at the road, burning so seasonable weather: And when the Ship leaketh, the Pylot sick, the Marriners faint, the Storms boysterous, and the Seas a turmoyle of outrageous Surges, then to launch forth, (hoise up sail) and set out for a long voyage into a far Countrey.

Yet such is the skill of these evening Repenters, who though in the soundness of their health, and perfect use of their reason, they cannot resolve to
cut

cut the Cables, and weigh the Anchor that with-holds them from God.

Nevertheless, they feed themselves with a strong persuasion, that when they are a stoned, their wits distracted, the understanding dused, and the bodies and souls wracked, and tormented with the throbs and gripes of a mortall sicknesse; then forsooth they will begin to think of their weightiest matters, and become sudden Saints, when they are scarce able to behave themselves like reasonable creatures.

No, no, if neither the Canon, Civil, nor the Common Law will allow that man (perished in judgement) should make any Testament of his temporall substance; how can he that is animated with inward garboyls of an unsetled conscience, distrained with the wringing fits of his dying flesh, maimed in all his ability, and circled in on every side with many and strange incumberances, be thought of due discretion to dispose of his chiefeft Jewell, which is his Soul? and to dispatch the whole manage of all eternity, and of the treasures of Heaven, in so short a spurt?

No, no, they that will loyter in seed-time, and begin to sow when others

G

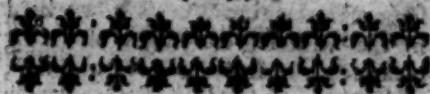
reap;

reap; they that will riot out their health, and begin to cast their accounts when they are scarce able to speak; they that will slumber out the day, and enter their journey when the light doth fail them; let them blame their own folly, if they die in debt, and be eternall beggers, and fall head-long into the lap of endlesse perdition.

Let such listen to S. Cyprian's lesson; Let, saith he, the grievousnesse of our fore be the measure of our sorrow; let a deep wound have a deep and diligent cure; Let no mans Contrition be lesse than his Crime.

F I N I S.





Sir Walter Raleigh's

S C E P T I C K.

The SCEPTICK doth neither affirm, neither deny any Position: but doubteth of it, and opposeth his Reasons against that which is affirmed, or denied, to justify his not-consenting.



Is first Reason ariseth, from the consideration of the great difference amongst living Creatures, both in the matter and manner of their Generations, and the severall Constitutions of their bodies.

Some living Creatures are by copulation, and some without it: & that either by Fire, as Crickets in fornaces; or corrupt water, as Gnats; or slime, as Frogs; or dirt, as Worms; or herbs, as Canker-worms: some of ashes, as Beetles;

Some of trees, as the Worms *Piscas* bred in the wild Fig-tree; some of living creatures putrified, as Bees of Bulls, and Wasps of Horses. By Copulation many creatures are brought forth alive, as Man; some in the egg, as Birds; some in an unshapen piece of flesh, as Bears. These great differences cannot but cause a divers and contrary temperament, and qualitie in those creatures, and consequently, a great diversity in their phantasie and conceit; so that they apprehend one and the same object, yet they must do it after a divers manner: for is it not absurd to affirm, That creatures differ so much in temperature, and yet agree in conceit concerning one and the same object?

See- But this will more plainly appear, ing. if the instruments of Sense in the body be observed: for we shall find, that as these Instruments are affected and disposed, so doth the Imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it. That very object which seemeth unto us White, unto them which have the Jaundise seemeth Pale, and Red unto those whose Eyes are bloud-shot. For so much then as living crea-

creatures have some white, some pale, some red eyes, why should not one and the same object seem to some white, to some red, to some pale? If a man rub his eye, the figure of that which he beholdeth seemeth long or narrow; is it then not likely, that those creatures which have a long, and slanting Pupill of the eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, &c. do convey the fashion of that which they behold under another form to the imagination, than those that have round Pupils do?

Who knoweth not, that a Glasse presenteth the outward object smoother, or greater, according to the making of the glasse? If it be hollow, the object seemeth smaller than it is; if the glasse be crooked, then the object seemeth long and narrow. And glasses there be, which present the head of him that looke h in them, downwards, and the heels upwards. Now then, seeing the eye, which is the instrument of Sight, in some living creatures is more outward, in some more hollow, in some plain, in some greater, in some lesse; it is very probable, that Fishes, Men, Lions, and Dogs, whose eyes so much differ, do not conceive the self-same object after the

same manner, but diversly, according to the diversitie of the eye, which offereth it unto the phantasie.

Touch. The same reason holdeth in *ing.* Touching; for seemeth it not absurd to think, that those creatures which are covered with Shells, those which are covered with Scales, those which are covered with Hairs, and those which are Smooth, should all be alike sensible in Touching? and every one of them conveigh the image, or qualitie of the same object which they touch in the very same degree of heat or cold, of driness or moisture, roughness or smoothness, unto the imagination?

Hear. So might it be shewed in *Hearing.* ing: for how can we think that the Ear which hath a narrow passage, & the Ear which hath an open & wide passage, do receive the same sound in the same degree? or that the Ear whose inside is full of hair, doth hear in the same just measure, that the Ear doth whose inside is smooth? Since experience sheweth, that if we stop, or half stop our Ears, the sound cometh not to us in the same manner & degree, that it doth if our ears be open.

The

Smell. The like may be thought of
ling. Smelling: for man himself a-
 bounding with Fleagm, is otherwise af-
 fected in smelling, than he is, if the
 parts about the head be full of bloud;
 and many things afford a delightfull
 smell to some living creatures, which
 smel to other living creatures seemeth
 not to be so.

Tast. In the Tast the same reason ap-
 172. peareth; for to a rough and drie
 tongue, that very thing seemeth bitter
 (as in an Ague) which to the moister
 tongue seemeth not to be so. Divers
 creatures then having tongues drier, or
 moister, according to their severall tem-
 peratures, when they tast the same
 thing, must needs conceit it to be ac-
 cording as the instrument of their tast
 is affected, either bitter, or sweet, &c.
 For even as the hand in the striking of
 the Harp, though the stroak be one, yet
 causeth a sound, sometimes high, some-
 times base, according to the quality of
 the string that is stricken: Even so one
 and the same outward object is diversly
 judged of, and conceited, according to
 the severall and divers qualities of the
 instrument of Sense, which conveyeth it
 to the imagination. Oymment is plea-

sing to Man; but Beetles and Bees cannot abide it. Oyl to man is profitable; but it killeth Bees and Wasps. Cicuta feedeth Quails, & Henbane Sows; but both of these hurt Man. If a Man eat Ants he is sick; but the Bear being sick, recovereth by eating them.

If then one and the very same thing to the red eye seem red, to another pale, and white to another: If one and the same thing, seem not hot or cold, drie or moist, in the same degree to the severall creatures which touch it: If one and the self-same sound seem more shrill to that creature which hath a narrow ear, and more base to him that hath an open ear: If the same thing, at the same time, seem to afford a pleasant and displeasing Smell to divers and severall creatures: If that seem bitter in tast to one, which to another seemeth sweet, that to one hurtfull, which to another seemeth healthfull: I may report how these things appear divers to severall creatures; and seem to produce divers effects.

But what they are in their own nature, whether red or white, bitter or sweet, healthfull or hurtfull, I cannot tell. For why should I presume to pro-
fer

fer my conceit and imagination, in affirming that a thing is thus, or thus, in its own nature, because it seemeth to me to be so, before the conceit of other living creatures, who may as well think it to be otherwise in each one nature, because it appeareth otherwise to them than it doth to me?

They are living creatures as well as I: why then should I condemn their conceit and phantasie, concerning any thing, more than they may mine? They may be in the truth and I in erreur, as well as I in truth, and they err. If my conceit must be believed before theirs, great reason that it be proved to be truer than theirs. And this proof must be either by demonstration, or without it. Without it none will believe. Certainly, if by demonstration, then this demonstration must seem to be true, or not seem to be true. If it seem to be true, then will it be a question, whether it be so indeed as it seemeth to be; and to alleadge that for a certain proof, which is uncertain and questionable, seemeth absurd.

If it be said, that the imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward object, than the imagination of other

living creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (besides that which is already said,) this is easily refuted by comparing of Man with other creatures.

It is confessed, the Dog excelleth Man in smell, and in hearing: and whereas there is said to be a two-fold discourse, one of the mind, another of the tongue, and that of the mind is said to be exercised in chusing that which is convenient, and refusing that which is hurtfull in knowledge, justice, and thankfulness: This creature chuseth his food, refuseth the whip, fawneth on his Master, defendeth his house, revengeth himself of those strangers that hurt him. And *Homer* mentioneth *Argus*, the dog of *Ulysses*, who knew his master, having been from home so many years, that at his return, all the people of his house had forgot him. This creature, saith *Chrysippus*, is not void of Logick: for when in following any beast, he cometh to three severall ways, he smelleth to the one, and then to the second; and if he find that the beast which he pursueth be not fled one of these 2 ways, he presently without smelling any further to it, taketh the third way: which,

which, saith the same Philosopher, is as if he reasoned thus, the Beast must be gone either this, or this, or the other way; but neither this nor this; *Ergo*, the third: and so away he runneth.

If we consider his skill in Physick, it is sufficient to help himself: if he be wounded with a dart, he useth the help of his Teeth to take it out, of his Tongue to cleanse the wound from corruption: he seemeth to be well acquainted with the Precept of Hippocrates, who saith, that the Rest of the Foot is the Physick of the Foot, and therefore if his foot be hurt, he holdeth it up that it may rest: if he be sick, he giveth himself a Vomit by eating of Grasse, and recovereth himself. The Dog then we see is plentifully furnished with inward discourse.

Now outward speech is not needfull to make a creature Reasonable, else a dumb-Man were an unreasonable Creature.

And do not Philosophers themselves reject this as an enemy to knowledge? and therefore they are *silent* when they are instructed; and yet even as Barbarous and strange people of speech, but we understand it not, neither do we

perceive any great difference in their words : but a difference there seemeth to be, and they do expresse their thoughts and meanings one to another by those words. Even so those creatures, which are commonly called unreasonable, do seem to parlie one with another; and by their speech to understand one the other. Do not Birds by one kind of speech call their young ones, and by another cause them to hide themselves? Do they not by their severall voices expresse their severall passions of joy, of grief, of fear in such manner, that their fellows understand them? Do they not by their voice foreshew things to come? But we will return to that creature we first did instance in. The Dog delivereth one kind of voice when he hunteth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and another when he is angry. These creatures then are not void of outward speech.

If then these creatures excell Man in sense, and are equall to him in inward and outward discourse, why should not their conceits and imaginations convey the outward object in as true a manner as ours? and if so, then seeing
their

their imaginations are divers, and they conceit it diversly according to their divers temperaments, I may tell what the outward object seemeth to me; but what it seemeth to other creatures, or whether it be indeed that which it seemeth to me, or any other of them, I know not.

But be it granted, that the Iudgement of Man in this case, is to be preferred before the Iudgement of Beasts; yet in Men there is great difference; both in respect of the outward shape, and also of the temperature of their bodies: For the bodie of the *Scythian* differeth in shape from the bodie of the *Indian*: the reason of it ariseth (say the Dogmaticks) from a predominancie of humours in the one more than in the other; and as severall humours are predominant, so are the phantasies and conceits severally framed and effected. So that our countrey-men delight in one thing, the *Indian* not in that, but in another which we regard not. This would not be, if their conceits and ours were both alike; for then we should like that which they do, and they would dislike that which we would dislike. It is evident also, that men differ very much
in

in the temperature of their bodies, else why should some more easily digest Bieft than Shel-fish? and other be mad for the time, if they drink wine? There was an old woman about *Arbeus*, which drunk three drams of *Cicuta* (every dram weighing fixtie Barley corns, and eight drams to an ounce) without hurt. *Lyfis*, without hurt, took four drams of Poppie; and *Demophon*, which was Gentleman-Sewer to *Alexander*, was very cold when he stood in the sun, or in a hot bath, but very hot when he stood in the shadow. *Arbenagoras* felt no pain if a Scorpion stung him. And the *Psilisti* (a people in *Lybia*, whose bodies are venom to serpents) if they be stung by serpents, or Asps, receive no hurt at all.

The *Ethiopian*, which inhabit the river *Hydaspis*, do eat serpents and scorpions without danger. *Lothericus* a Chirurgian, at the smell of a Sturgeon, would be for the time mad. *Andron* of *Argos*, was so little thirstie, that without want of drink, he travelled through the hot and dry countrey of *Lybia*. *Tiberius Caesar* would see very well in the dark. *Aristotle* mentioneth of *Tibratius*, who said, that the image
of

of a Man went always before him.

If then it be so, that there be such differences in Men, this must be by reason of the divers temperatures they have, and divers disposition of their conceit and imagination; for, if one hate, and another love the very same thing, it must be that their phantasies differ, else all would love it, or all would hate it. These Men then, may tell how these things seem to them good, or bad; but what they are in their own Nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to mens opinions, concerning one and the same matter, thinking thereby to come to the knowledge of it, we shall find this to be impossible; for, either we must believe what all men say of it, or what some men only say of it. To believe what all men say of one & the same thing, is not possible; for then we shall believe Contrarieties; for some men say, that that very thing is pleasant, which other say is displeasing. If it be said, we must believe onely some men, then let it be shewed who those some men are; for the *Platonists* will believe *Plato*, but the *Epicures* *Epicurus*, the *Pythagorians* *Pythagoras*, & other Philosophers the
masters

sters of their own Sects: so that it is doubtfull, to which of all these we shall give credit. If it be said, that we must credit the greatest number; this seemeth childish: for there may be amongst other Nations a greater number which denie that very point, which the greatest number with us do affirm: so that hereof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This Argument seemeth to be further confirmed, if the differences of the Senses of *Hearing, Seeing, Smelling, Touching, and Tasting* be considered; for that the Senses differ, it seemeth plain.

Painted Tables (in which the art of Slanting is used) appear to the Eye, as if the parts of them were some higher, and some lower than the other, but to the Touch they seem not to be so.

Honey seemeth to the Tongue sweet, but unpleasant to the Eye: so Oynement doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taste. Rain-water is profitable to the Eyes, but it hurteeth the Lungs. We may tell then, how these things seem to our severall senses, but what they are in their own nature we cannot tell: for why should not a man
cre-

Credit any one of his senses as well as the other ?

Every object seemeth to be presented diversly unto the severall instruments of Sense. An Apple to the Touch seemeth smooth, sweet to the Smell, and to the Eye yellow; but whether the Apple have one of these qualities onely, or more than these qualities, who can tell? The Organ hath many Pipes, all which are filled with the same blast of wind, varied according to the capacitie of the severall Pipes which receive it: even so the qualitie of the Apple may be but one, and this one quality may be varied, & seem yellow to the Eye, to the Touch smooth, and sweet to the Smell, by reason of the divers instruments of the Sense, which apprehend this one quality diversly.

It may be also, that an Apple hath many qualities besides; but we are not able to conceive them all, because we want fit means and instruments to apprehend them. For suppose that some Man is born blind, and deaf, and yet can touch, smell, and tast; this man will not think that there is any thing, which may be seen or heard, because he wanteth the Senses of hearing and see.

seeing; he will onely think there are those qualities in the object, which by reason of his three Senses he conceiveth: Even so the Apple may have many more qualities; but we cannot come to know them, because we want fit instruments for that purpose.

If it be replied, that Nature hath ordained as many instruments of Sense, as there are sensible objects; I demand, What Nature? for there is a confused controversie about the very Essence of Nature. Some affirming it to be one thing, others another, few agreeing: so that what the quality of an Apple is, or whether it hath one qualitie or many, I know not.

Let a man also consider, how many things that are separated, and by themselves, appear to differ from that which they seem to be, when they are in a mass or lump; the scrapings of the Goats horn seems white, but in the horn they seem black, but in the lump white. The stone *Tanarus*, being polished, seemeth white, but unpolished & rough, it seemeth yellow. Sands being separated, appear rough to the Touch, but a great heap, soft. I may then report, how these things appear, but whether they are so indeed, I know not.

Sir



Sir *Walter Raleigh's*
 OBSERVATIONS
Concerning the Causes of
the Magnificencie and
Opulencie of
 CITIES.

THAT the onely way to civilize and reform the savage and barbarous Lives, and corrupt Manners of such people, is,

1 To be dealt withall by gentle and loving Conversation among them, to attain to the knowledge of their Language, and of the multitude of their special discommodities and inconveniences in their manner of living.

2 The next is to get an admired reputation amongst them, upon a solid and true foundation of Pietie, iustice, and wisdom, conjoynd with fortitude and power.

3 The

3 The third is, discreetly to possess them with a knowledge of the condition of their own estate. Thus *Ophers* and *Amphion*, were said to draw after them the beasts of the field, &c.

And this must be first wrought by a visible representation, of the certain-tie, truth, and sinceritie of these, together with the felicitie of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good advise, for the future profit and felicitie of themselves and their posteritie.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be perswaded to withdraw and unite themselves into severall Colonies; that by it an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civilitie, for the better succour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian Faith, and governed under the Magistrates and ministers of the King, or other

ther superiour power, under whom this Reformation is sought. Which course the Stoick tells, that *Ibeseus* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the people into one Citie, that before lived dispersedly in many Villages. The like is put in practice at this day by the *Portugalls* and *Jesuits*, that they may with less difficultie and hinderance reform the rough behaviour, and savage life of the people of *Brazile*, who dwell scattered and dispersed in caves and cottages made of boughs & leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great built more than Seventie Cities: *Seleucus* built three Cities, called *Apamea*, to the honour of his wife; and five called *Laodicea*, in memorie of his mother; and five called *Seleucia*, to the honour of himself.

Safetie

*Safetie for Defence of the
People and their goods,
in and near the
Town.*

Situation **I**N the Situation of Cities,
tion there is to be required a place
for Safety of Safetie, by some natural
ty & Plenty. strength, commodiousness for
Navigation, and Conduct, for
the attaining of plentie of all good
things, for the sustenance & comfort of
mans life, and to draw trade and enter-
course of other Nations; as if the same
be situate in such sort, as many people
have need to repair thither for some
natural commoditie or other of the
Countrey, which by traffick and trans-
portation of commodities, whereof they
have more plentie than will supplie
their own necessitie, or for receiving of
things whereof they have scarcitie.
And much better will it be, if the place
afford some notable commoditie of it
self, from whence other Nations may
more readily, and at better rate at-
tain the same: Likewise, and withall,
be

be so fertil, pleasant, and healthfull of it self, that it may afford plentie of good things, for the delight and comfort of the inhabitants.

Multitude of Inhabitants. In former times, great Nations, Kings and Potentates have endured sharp conflicts, and held it high Policie, by all means to increase their Cities, with multitudes of inhabitants. And to this end the Romans ever furnished themselves with strength and power, to make their neighbour- People, of necessitie, willing to draw themselves to *Rome* to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean strength, down to the ground.

So did they for this cause utterly destroy many Cities, bringing always the vanquished Captives to *Rome*, for the augmentation of that Citie.

Romulus, after a mighty fight with the *Sabines*, condescended to Peace, upon condition that *Tatius* their King should come with all their people to dwell at *Rome*; *Tatius* did accept, and made choice of the *Capitol*, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his seat and Pallace.

The same course hld *Tamberlane*

the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Samaritania*, still bringing unto it, the richest and wealthiest Citizens he had subdued.

And the *Ottoman*, to make the Citie *Constantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thousand Families, especially Artificers out of the subdued Cities; as *Mahomet* the great from *Trebizonde*, *Selim* the First from *Cairo*, and *Sultan* from *Turke*.

Authoritie and necessitie, without the consideration of the conveniencies, and commodiousness of Situation above mentioned, are of small moment in the foundation of a Citie; thereby onely it would be unlikely, either to grow or continue in Magnificencie or Opulencie: for if Profit, Pleight, and Delight go not companions therewith, no authoritie or necessitie can retain much People or Wealth.

But if the place whereupon a Citie is to be founded, be commodious for the aforesaid conveniencies, which help greatly for the felicitie of this life, then, no doubt, the same is likely to draw much abundance of people and riches unto the same, whereby it may, by the help of Arts and Industrie, in
time

time, become magnificent & glorious.

Unto the good estate, greatness, and glorie of a Citie, those things hereafter mentioned do greatly avail, and are of much importance, viz.

Religi Religion, which is of such force *tion*. and might, to amplifie Cities and Dominions, and of such attractive virtue to replenish the same with people and wealth, and to hold them in due obedience, as none can be more; for without adoration of some Dietie, no common wealth can subsist.

Witness *Jerusalem Rome Constantinople*, and all other cities that have been famous for the profession of Religion, or Divine worship And no marvel, for there is not any thing in this world of more efficacie & force to allure and draw to it the hearts of Men, than God. which is the *summum bonum*. He is carefully desired, and continually sought for of all creatures; for all regard Him as their last end and refuge.

Light things apply themselves upwards, heavy things downwards; the Heavens to Revolution, the Herbs to flowers, Trees to bear fruit, Beasts to present their kind and Man in seeking his tranquillitie and everlasting glo-

But forasmuch as God is of so high a nature, as the sense and understanding of Man cannot conceive it, every man directly turns himself to that place where he leaves some print of his power, or declares some sign of his assistance. And to such persons whom he seemeth more especially to have revealed himself.

Acade- Academies, & Schools of Learning with convenient immunities and privileges for Scholars, and means for Recreation for Delight, are of great importance to enlarge and enrich a citie: forasmuch as men long for honour and profit, and of Arts & liberal sciences some bring certain wealth to men, and some promotions & preferments to honourable functions: for by this means, not onely young men, & those that are desirous of Learning and Virtue in the same Commonwealth, will be retained in their own Countrey; but also strangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available if occasion be given to Scholars and students, to rise to degrees of Honour and preferment by their learned exercises, and that by the Policie of the same citie, good
Witt

Wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: that the same Academies and Schools be stored with plentie of Doctours and learned men, of great fame and reputation.

Courts Courts of Iustice, with due execution of the same in a citie, do much enable, enlarge, & enrich it; for it fasteneth a great liking in a citie to virtuous men, and such as be wealthy, that therein they may be free, and in safetie from the violence of the oppressions of covetous and wicked men; and there will be rather resort thither to inhabit, or traffick there as occasions may minister unto them. And many others that have cause of suite will repair thither, whereas they may be sure to find Iudgement and Iustice duely executed, whereby the citie must needs be enlarged and enriched: for our lives, and all that ever we have are in the hands of Iustice: so that if Iustice be not administred amongst men, in vain is there any societie and commerce, or any other thing can be profitable or safe; so much is love and charitie failed, and iniquitie increased upon the face of the earth.

Artifi. The excellencie and multitude
cess. likewise of Artificers exercising
the r manuell arts and trades, do
marvellously increase and enrich a
State, whereof some are necessary,
some commodious for a civil life, o-
ther some are of pomp and orna-
ment, and other some of delicacie
and curiositie, whereof doth follow con-
course of people that labour and work,
and current money which doth enrich
and supply Materials for labourers,
and work-men, buying and selling,
transportation from place to place,
which doth imp'oy and increase the ar-
tificiall and cunning parts of the wit
of Man; and this art and exquisite-
nesse of work-manship and skill is so
powerfull herein, that it far excels the
simple commodities and materials that
Nature produceth; and is alone suffi-
cient of it self to make a Citie or State,
both magnificent and glorious: and
the daily experience we have in these
our dayes, and in former times,
doth manifestly approve the same, and
make evident without all contradic-
tion.

Some naturall benefits that a Citie
also may have for the excellency of Art,

or work manship of some special commodities above any other place, either through the qualitie of the Water, or other matter whatsoever, or some hidden mysterie of the inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great help for the enlargement and enriching of a citie.

The command of a Countrey that affordeth some proper commoditie, is of it self sufficient mightily to bring a Citie to great wealth, and to advance it to great power, and draweth thereby dependencie and concourse, much advantageous also, as well for the publick weal, as the private person.

A Citie also may be Lord of much Merchandize and traffick, by means of the commodious situation to many Nations, to whom it serveth and hath relation to, as Ware-houses, Roomth and Store-houses, by reason whereof, the nations adjoyning do use to resort thereunto to make their provisions of such things. And this consisteth in the largenesse of the Ports, the fitnessse of the gulphs and creeks of the seas, in the Navigable rivers and channels, and the plain and safe ways that leadeth to the Citie,

or that come, or turn by or near it. Priv^{ies} Priviledge and freedom from ledge. Customs and exactons^s, doth greatly inciease the Trade, and draw inhabitants to a citie, whereby the same may become both rich and powerfull; whereof the Marts and Fairs, and Markets bear good witnesse, which are frequented with great concourse of people, Tradesmen and Merchants, for no other respect, but that they are there free and frank from Customs and exactions. And the cities in *Flander* are lively testimonies hereof, where the Customs are very small.

By reason whereof, all such as have erected new Cities in times past to draw concourse of people unto it, have granted large immunities, and priviledges at the least, to the first inhabitants thereof.

The like have they done that have restored Cities emptied with Plague, consumed with Wars, or afflicted with Famin, or some other scourge of God. In respect whereof, Freedom of Cities hath been often granted to such as would with their families, inhabit there, or would bring Corn and

and other necessaries for provision of victual.

The *Romans*, to increase their Cities, made the Towns that well deserved of them (which they after called *Municipia*) to be partakers of their franchises and priviledges.

The first devise of Rome to allure people to make their habitations rather in Rome than else where, was the opening the Sanctuarie, & giving libertie and freedom to all that would come unto them. In respect whereof, there flocked thither, with their goods, numbers of people that were either racked with exactions, thrust out of their habitations, or unsafe, or unsure for their lives in their own Countreys for Religion sake.

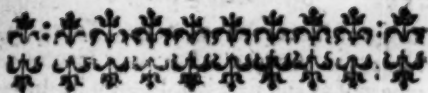
The very same reason in a manner hath increased so much the cite of Geneva: forasmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all commers out of France and *Italie*, that have either forsaken, or been exiled their Countreys for Religions sake.

Likewise, triumphs, goodly buildings, battels on the water fights of sword-players, hunting of wild

beasts, publick shows and fights, plays solemnized with great pomp and preparation, and many other such things do draw the curious people to a citie inspeakably, which leaves behind them much treasure, and for such cause will rather settle themselves to inhabit there, than in other places. This was also the devise of Rome in her infancy to enlarge h^r self.

*The Causes that Concern the
Magnificencie of a
C I T I E.*

TO confirm a Citie in her Greatness, *Justice*, *Peace*, and *Plentie* are the undoubted means: for *Justice* assureth every man his own. *Peace* causeth all Arts and negotiation whatsoever to flourish: and *Plentie* of food and victuall, that sustaineth the life of Man with ease and much contentment. To conclude, All those things that cause the Greatnesse of a Citie, are also fit to conserve the same.



Sir Walter Raleigh's
Seat of
GOVERNMENT.

That the Seat of Government is upheld by the two great pillars thereof, viz. Civile Iustice, and Martia'l Policie, which are framed out of Husbandrie, Merchandize, and Genery of this Kingdom.

They say, that the goodliest CEDARS which grow on the high mountains of *Libanus*, thrust their roots between the clifts of hard Rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As Nature hath instructed those kings of Trees, so hath Reason taught the Kings of Men, to root themselves in the hardie Hearts of their faithfull Subjects. And as those

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kings

kings of Trees have large Tops, so have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the first would soon be broken from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; so would the other easily tytter, were they not fastened on their heads, with the strong chains of Civil Justice and Martial Discipline.

1. For the administration of the first, even God himself hath given direction, *Judge. and Officers shall thou make, who shall judge to. People with righteous judgement.*

2 The second is grounded on the first Laws of the world and nature, that Force is to be repelled by Force. Yea Moses in the 10 of Exodus, and elsewhere, hath delivered us many Laws & Policies of War. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuse in both, so have we heard of the decline and ruine of many Kingdoms & States long before our days: for that Policie hath never yet prevailed (though it hath served for a short season) where the counterfeite hath been sold for the natural, and the outward shew and formalitie for the substance. Of the Emperour Charles the Fourth, the

the writers of that age witness, that he used but the name of *Justice* and good order, being more learned in the Law than in doing right, and that he had by far, more knowledge than conscience. Certainly the unjust Magistrate that fancieth to himself a solid and untransparable bodie of Gold, every ordinarie wit can vitrifie, and make transparent pierce, and discern their corruptions; howsoever, because not daring, they cover their knowledge, but in the mean while it is also true, That constrained dissimulation, either in the proud heart, or in the oppressed, either in publick estates, or in private persons, where the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the leisure of her lurking, but sharpen her teeth, the voluntarie being no less base, than the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the Barons of *England* and their Kings, between the Lords of *Switzerland* & their people, between the *Sicilians* and the *French* between the *Dolphin* and *John of Burgoyne*, between *Charles the Ninth* and the *French* Protestants, and between *Henry the third*, his successor, and the Lords of *Guise*, hereof in place of more particulars,

lars, the whole world may serve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geographie to deliniate and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is easie enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maintained it self in lasting happiness, it hath ever acquired more honour by perswading, than by beating; for as the bonds of Reason and Love are immortal, so do all other chains or cords, both rustie & rot Noble parts of their own Royall and Politick bodies.

Hus- But we will forbear for a while
band to stretch this first string of Ci-
men vil Justice; for in respect of the first sort of Men, *to wit*, of those that live by their own labour, they have never been displeased where they have been suffered to enjoy the fruit of their own travels, *Meum & Tuum*, Mine & Thine is all wherein they seek their certaintie & protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit-Trees of the Land, which God in *Deuteronomie* commanded to be spared, they gather honey, and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the ground with great labour, giving the best of their grain to the careful & idle.

For

M. r. For the second sort, which are the *chant.* Merchants, as the first feed the Kingdome, so do these enrich it, yea their trades, especially those which are forcible, are not the least part of our Martiall *Politic*, as hereafter proved; and to do them right, they have in all ages and times assisted the Kings of this Land, not onely with great sums of money, but with great Fleets of Ships in all their enterprises beyond the seas. The second have seldome or never offended their Princes, to enjoy their trades at home upon tolerable conditions, hath ever contented them for the injuries received from other Nations, give them but the Commission of Reprisal, they will either Right themselves, or sit down with their own losse without complaint.

Gen. 3. The third sort, which are the *try.* Gentry of *England*, these being neither seated in the lowest grounds, and thereby subject to the biting of every beast, nor in the highest Mountains, & thereby in danger to be torn with tempest; but the Valleys between both, have their parts in the inferiour Justice, & being spread over all, are the Garrisons of good order throughout the Realm.



Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S
LETTERS.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to Mr Secretary Winwood, before his Journey to Guiana.

Honourable SIR,

I Was lately perswaded, by two Gentlemen, my ancient Friends, to acquaint your Honour with some offers of mine, made heretofore for a Journey to *Guiana*, who were of opinion, That it would be better understood now, than when it was first propounded, which advice having surmounted my dispair, I have presumed to send unto your Honour the Copies of those Letters which I then wrote, both to his Majestie, and to the Treasurer *Cecil*, wherein as well the reasons

sons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hear say, but what mine eyes hath seen, I have said it often, but it was then to no end: Because those that had the greatest trust, were resolved not to believe it, not because they doubted the Truth, but because they doubted my Disposition towards themselves; where (if God had blessed me in the enterprise) I had recovered his Majesties favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspition they never had any. Our late worthy Prince of *Wales* was extream curious in searching out the Nature of my offences, The Queens Majestie hath informed her self from the beginning. The King of Denmark at both times of his being here was throughly satisfied of my innocencie, they would otherwise never have moved his Majestie on my behalf.

The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not use to sue for men suspect; but Sir, since they all have done it out of their charitie,
and

and but with references to me alone. Your Honour (whose respect hath onely relation to his Majesties service) strengthened by the example of those Princes, may with the more hardnesse do the like, being Princes to whom his Majesties good estate is no lesse dear ; and all men that shall oppugne it, no lesse hatefull, then to the King himself.

It is true Sir, That his Majestie hath sometimes answered, That his Councel knew me better than he did ; meaning some two or three of them, And it was indeed my infelicitie ; for had his Majestie known me, I had never been here where I now am : or had I known his Majestie, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majestie not knowing of me hath been my ruine, and his Majestie mis-knowing of them, hath been the ruine of a goodly part of his estate : but they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his Majesties knowledge. But Sir, how little soever his Majestie knew me, and how much soever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his Majestie both for my Life, and all that remains, of which,
but

but for his Majestie, nor Life, nor ought
else had remained. In this respect Sir,
I am bound to yield up the same life,
and all I have for his Majesties service;
to die for the King, and not by the
King, is all the ambition I have in the
world.

Walter Raleigh.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to his
Wife, from Guiana.*

Sweet Heart,

I Can yet write unto you but with a
weak hand, for I have suffered the
most violent Calenture for fifteen
days, that ever man did, and lived:
but God that gave me a strong heart in
all my adversities, hath also now
strengthened it in the hell fire of
heat.

We have had two most grievous
sicknesses in our Ship, of which fourtie
two have died, and there are yet many
sick, but having recovered the land of
Guiana, this 12 of *November*, I hope
we shall recover them. We are yet two
hun-

hundred men, and the rest of our Fleet are reasonable strong, strong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at *London*, to make our strength known to the Spanish King by his Ambassadour, have not taught the Spanish King to fortifie all the enterances against us; howsoever we must make the adventure, and if we perish, it shall be no honour for *England*, nor gain for his Majestie to loose among many other, an hundred as valiant Gentlemen as *England* hath in it.

Of Captain Bayliss base coming from us at the *Canaries*, see a Letter of *Kemishes* to M^r *scov*, & of the unnatural weather, storms & rains and winds. He hath in the same letter, given a touch of the way that hath ever been sailed in fourteen days, now hardly performed in fourtie days: God I trust, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In passage to the *Canaries*, I stayed at *Gamerah*, where I took water in peace, because the Countrey durst not denie it me; I received there of an English race, a Present of Oranges, Lemmons, Quinces, & Pome-granates with-

our which I could not have lived; those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the Line. All my servants have escaped but *Crab* and my Cook, yet all have had the sickness. *Crofts* and *March*, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord *Carew*, and Mr Secretarie *Winwood*.

I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries: yet of men of sort, we have lost our Serjeant Major, Captain *Pigott*, and his Lieutenants, Captain *Edward Hastings*, who would have died at home, for both his liver, spleen, and brains were rotten. My sons Lieutenants *Payton* and my cousin *Mr. Hews*, *Mr. Mordaunt*, *Mr. Gardiner*, *Mr. Hayward*, Captain *Fennings*, the Merchant, *Kemish* of London, and the Master Chyrurgion, *Mr. Refiner*, *Mr. Moor* the Governour of the *Barmouda*, our Provost Marsh. *W. Steed*, Lieutenant *Veslie*, but to mine inestimable grief, *Hammon* and *Talbot*. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us, in Gods hands

hands we were, and in him we trust,

This bearer, Captain *Alley*, for his infirmitie of his head I have sent back, an honest valiant man, he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at *Longbury*, Sir *John Leigh* and *Mr. Bower*, whose Nephew *Knevis* is well, and to my cousin *Blundell*, and my most devoted and humble service to her Majestic.

To tell you that I might be here King of the *Indian*, were a vanitie, but my name hath still lived among them: here they feed me with freshmeat, and all that the Countrey yields, all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor *Carew* my son.

From *Galliana* in *Guiana*, the 14 of *Novemb:.*

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to Sir Ralph Winwood.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our proceedings and passages towards the *Indies*, so have I no other subject to write of, than of
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the greatest misfortunes that ever befell any man: for whereas, for the first, All those that Navigate between *Cape de Verd* and *America*, do passe between fifteen or twentie days at most, we found the wind so contrary, and which are also contrary to nature, so many storms and rains, as we spent six weeks in the passage, by reason whereof, and that in so great heat we wanted water: for at the *Ile Prano* of *Cape de verd*, we lost our Anchours and Cables, and our water Casks, being driven from the Island with a *Hurlicano*, and were like all to have perished. Great sicknesse fell amongst us, and carried away great numbers of our ablest men both for sea and land. The 17 of November, we had sight of *Guiana*, and soon after came to Anchour in five degrees at the River *Galliano*, here we staid till the fourth of December, landed our sick men, set up the Barges and Shal'ops, which were brought out of *Englaed* in quarters, washed our Ships, and took in fresh water, being fed and cherished by the *Indians* of my old acquaintance, with a great deal of love and respect, my self being in the hands of death these 6 weeks, and was not able

able otherwise to move than as I was carried in a chair, gave order to 5 small Ships, to sail into *Orinoque*, having Captain *Kemis* for their Conductor towards the Mynes, and in those five Ships five Companies of 50 under the command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, brethren to the Lord *Mounseagle* and the Lord *North*, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite patience for the labour, hunger, and heat which they have endured, my son had the third Company Captain *Thornix* of *Kent* the fourth Company, Captain *Chidley*, by his Lieutenant, the fifth: but as my Sergeant Major Captain *Piggot* of the *Low Countries* died in the former miserable passage, so my Lieutenant Sir *Warham* S. *Letter* lay sick without hope of life, and the charge conferred on my Nephew *George Raleigh*, who had also served long with infinite commendations; but by reason of my absence, and of Sir *Warham*s was not so well obeyed as the Enterprize required. As they passed up the River, the Spaniard began the War, and shot at us both with their Ordinance and Muskets, whereupon the Companies were for-

forced to charge them, and soon after beat them out of the Town. In the assault, my son (more desirous of honour than safetie) was slain, with whom (to say truth) all the respects of this world have taken end in me. And although these five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders; yet were there amongst them some twentie or thirtie valiant adventurous Gentlemen, and of singular courage, as of my sons Companie, *Mr. Knuvel, Mr. Hammon, Mr. Langworth, Mr. Iohn Pleasington*; his Officers, *Sir Iohn Hamden*; *Mr. Simon Leak* Corporall of the Field, *Mr Hammon* the elder Brother, *Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Mullinax, Mr. Winter* and his brother, *Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbert, Mr. Bradshaw, Capt. Hall*, and others.

Sir, I have set down the names of these Gentlemen, to the end, that if his Majestie shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take notice of them for very sufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships staid at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable for them near *Guiana*. The
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second Ship was commanded by my Vice Admirall Capt. *John Pennington*, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the sufficientest Gentlemen for the Sea that *England* hath. The third by *Sir Warham S. Leiger*, an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The fourth by *Sr John Fern*. The fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*. With these five Ships I daily attended their Armado of *Spain*, which had they set upon us, our force divided, the one half in *Orinoque*, an hundred and fiftie miles from us, we had not onely been torn in pieces, but all those in the River had also perished, being of no force at all for the Sea-fight; for we had resolved to have been burnt by their sides, had the Armado arrived: but belike, they staid for us at *Margarit*, by which they knew we must passe towards the *Indies*: for it pleased his Majestie to value us at so little, as to command me upon my Allegaunce, to set down under my hand the Countrey, and the River by which I was to enter it; to set down the number of my men, and burthen of my Ships, and what Ordinance every Ship carried, which being known to the *Spanish* Ambassadour, and by him

to the King of Spain, a dispatch was made, and letters sent from *Madrid*, before my departure out of the *Thames*; for his first letter sent by a Barque of Advise, was dated the 19 of *March* 1617. at *Madrid*, which letter I have here inclosed sent to your Honour, the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The second by the King, dated the second of *May*, sent also by a Colonel of *Diego de Polonicque*, Governor of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidado*. The third by the Bishop of *Portoricho*, and delivered to *Polonicque* the 15 of *July*, at *Trinidado*. And the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Customs in the *Indies*. At the same time, by that of the Kings hand, sent by the Bishop, there was also a Commission for the speedie levying of three hundred souldiers, and ten pieces of Ordinance to be sent fr^o *Portoricho*, for the defence of *Guiana*, an hundred & fiftie from *Nuevo Remo de Grando*, under the command of Captain *Anthony Musica*, and the other hundred and fiftie from *Portoricho*, to be conducted by *C. Franc. Landio*.

Now Sir, if all that have traded to

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the *Indies* since his Majesties time knew that the Spaniards have flayed alive all the poor men which they have taken, being but Merchant men, what death and cruel torment shall we expect if they conquer us? certainly they have hitherto failed grossly, being set out thence as we were, both for number, time, and place.

Lastly, to make an Apologie for not working the Myne, (although I know his Majestic expects) whom I am to satisfie so much, as my self, having lost my son, and my estate in the Enterprise, yet it is true, that the Spaniards took more care to defend the passage leading unto it, than they did the Town, which by the Kings instructions they might easily do, the Countreys being *Aspera & Nemosæ*.

But it is true, that when Capt. Kemish found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in most places near the Myne by a Mile, and where he found a discent, a volley of Muskets come from the woods upon the Boat, and slew two Rowers, and hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman of Captain Thornix, of which wound he languisheth to
this

this day. He, to wit, *Kemish*, following his own advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the Myne; for he gave me this for an excuse at his return, that the Companies of English in the Town of *S. Thome* were not able to defend it, against the daily and nightly assaults of the Spaniards, that the passages to the Mynes, were thick and unpassable woods, and that the Myne being discovered, they had no men to work it, did not discover it at all: for it is true, the Spaniards having two gold Mynes near the Town, the one possessed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Paran*, the second by *Harmian Frotinio*, the third of silver, by Captain *Francisco*, for the want of *Negroes* to work them: for as the *Indians* cannot be constrained by a Law of *Charles the Fifth*, so the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the labour of those Mynes, whatsoever the *Bragadochio*, the *Spanish* Ambassador saith. I shall prove under the Proprietors hand, by the Custom-Book, and the Kings *Quinto*, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I shall also make it appear to any Prince or State that will undertake it, how easily those Mynes, and five or six more

of them may be possessed, and the most of them in thole parts, which never have as yet been attempted by any, nor by any passage to them, nor ever discovered by the English, French, or Dutch. But at *Kemish* his return from *Orinogue*, when I rejected his counsel and his course, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my credit with the King past recovery, he slew himself: for I told him, that seeing my son was slain, I cared not if I had lost an hundred more in opening of the Myne, so my credit had been saved: for I protest before God, had not Capt. *Whitney* (to whom I gave more countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the *Granadoes*, and carried another ship with him of Captain *Wolfeftons*. I would have left my body at *S. Thomes* by my sons, or have brought with me out of that or other Mynes, so much Gold-oar, as should have satisfied the King. I propounded no vain thing; what shall become of me I know not, I am unpardoned in *England*, and my poor estate consumed, and whether any Prince will give me bread or no I know not. I desire your Honour to hold me in your good opinion, to remember my service to my
Lord

Lord of *Ayrundel* and *Pembrook*, to take some pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her sorrow for her son; and beseech you to give a copie of this to my Lord *Clerke*: for to a broken mind, a sick bodie, and weak eyes, it is a torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of importance for discovering the state and weaknesse of the *Indies*, which if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I shall remain a faithfull servant.

Walter Raleigh

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter sent to his Wife, Copied out of his own hand writing.

I Was loath to write, because I know not how to comfort you, and God knows, I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God, and remember, that the *Queens* Majestie bare the losse of *Prince Henry* with a magnanimous heart.

heart, and the *Ladie Harrington* of her son. Comfort your heart (*dearest Bess*) I shall sorrow for us both, I shall sorrow the lesse, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live. I refer you to Mr. Secretarie *Winwoods* Letter, who will give you a copie of it, if you send for it, therein you shall know what hath passed; I have written that Letter, for my brains are broken, and it is a torment for me to write, and especially of misery. I have desired Mr. Secretarie to give my Lord *Carew* a copie of his Letter. I have clenched my ship of sick men, and sent them home; I hope God will send us somewhat before we return. You shall hear from me if I live, from the *New-found land*, where I mean to make clean my ships and revictual; for I have Tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bleesse and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your valiant son

This 22. of March, from the Isle of Christophers, yours Walter Raleigh.

Post-script.

I Protest before the Majestie of God, That as Sir *Francis Drake*,
and

and Sir *John Hawkins* died heart broken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you and to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve your self that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true that *Kemish* might have gone directly to the Myne, and meant it, but after my sons death, he made them believe he knew not the way, and excused himself upon want of water in the River, and counterfeiting many impediments left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever; he answered, That when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak, that he resolved not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a companie of Rascals, who after my sons death made no account of him. He further told me that the English sent up into *Guiana*, could hardly defend the Spanish town of *S. Thome* which they had taken, and therefore for them to passe through thick woods it was impossible, and more impossible to have victuall brought

I 4 them.

them into the Mountains. And it is true, that the Governour *Diego Pulego*, and other four Captains being slain, whereof *Wat* slew one, *Plessington*, *Wat* s servant, and *Iohn of Maracors*, one of his men, slew other two. I say five of them slain in the enterance of the Town, the rest went off in a whole bodie, and took more care to defend the passages to their Mynes (of which they had three within a League of the Town, besides a Myne that was about five miles off) than they did of the Town it self. Yet *Kemish* at the first was resolved to go to the Myne; but when he came to the banck-side to Land, and had two of his men slain outright from the bank, and six other hurt, and Captain *Thorn* shot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks.

Now when *Kemish* came back and gave me the former Reasons which moved him not to open the Myne, the one the death of my son, a second the weaknesse of the English and their impossibilities to work and to be victualled; a third that it were a folly to discover it for the Spaniards; and lastly my weaknesse and being unpardoned; and

and that I rejected all these his Arguments, and told him, that I must leave him to himself to resolve it to the King and State, he shut up himself into his Cabbin, and shot himself with a pocket Pistol which broke one of, his ribs, and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long Knife under his short ribs up to the handle and died. Thus much I have written to Mr Secretarie, to whose Letters I refer you to know the truth. I did after the sealing break open the Letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business, which I pray you impart to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and *Silvanus Scory*.

For the rest, there was never poor man so exposed to slaughter as I was; for being commanded upon mine Allegiance to set down not onely the Cou-trey but the very River by which I was to enter it, to name my Ships number, men, and my Artillerie. This now was sent by the Spanish Ambassador to his Master the King of Spain, the King wrote his Letters to all parts of the *Indies*, especially to the Governour *Palamago* of *Guiana*, *Enderado*, and *Trinidad*, of which the

first Letter bore date 19 of March 1617, at *Madrigill*, when I had not yet left the Thames, which Letter I have sent to Mr Secretarie. I have also other Letters of the Kings which I reserve, and one of the Councils. The King also sent a Commission to leavie three hundred souldiers out of his Garrisons of *unie Regno de Granado e Portricho*, with ten pieces of brasie Ordinance to entertain us; he also prepared an Army by sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved, if I live I shall make it known; my brains are broken, and I cannot write much, I live yet, and I told you why. *witney* for whom I sold all my Plate at *Plymouth*, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet, ran from me at the *Granadoes*, and *wolleston* with him, so as I have now but five Ships, and out of those I have sent some into my Fly-boat, a rabble of idle Rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the Fleet hath taken the pain and care that I have done, that have slept so little, and travelled so much, my
friends

friends will not believe them, and for the rest I care not; God in heaven blesse you and strengthen your heart.

Yours

Walter Raleigh.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to
Mr Secretary Winwood.*

S I R,

SINCE the death of *Kemish*, it is confessed by the Serjeant Major, and others of his inward friends, that he told them that he could have brought them unto the Myne within two hours March from the River side; but because my son was slain, my self unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no reason to open the Myne either for the Spaniard or for the King; they answered, that the King (though I were not pardored) had granted my heart under the Great Seal. He replied, that the grant to me was to no man, *non*

ENS.

Eas in the Law, and therefore of no force; this discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his death: but when I was resolved to write unto your Honour, he prayed me to joyn with him in excusing his not going to the Myne, I answered him I would not do it; but if my self could satisfie the King and State, that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad of it: but for my part, I must avow that he knew it, and that he might with loss have done it; other excuses I would not frame: he told me that he would wait on me presently, and give me better satisfaction: but I was no sooner come from him into my Cabbin, but I heard a Pistol go over my head, and sending to know who shot it, word was brought me that *Kemish* shot it out of his Cabbin window to cleanse it; his boy going into his Cabbin, found him lying upon his bed with much bloud by him, and looking in his face saw him dead; the Pistol being but little, did but crack his rib, but turning him over found a long Knife in his bodie, all but the handle. Sir I have sent into *England* with my cosin *Harbert* (a very valiant honest Gentleman)

man) divers unvorthy persons, good for nothing neither by sea nor land, and though it was at their own suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your Honour, that the scorn of men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains, and suffered more than the meanest Rascall in the Ship; these being gone, I shall be able to keep the Sea untill the end of *August*, with some four reasonable good ships. Sir, wheresoever God shall permit me to arrive in any part of Europe, I will not fail to let your Honour know what we have done, till then, and ever I rest

Your Honours

servant

W. Raleigh.

Sr

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S

Letter to

King JAMES,

at his return from

GUIANA.

May it please your most excellent Majestie,

IF in my Journey outward bound, I had my men murthered at the Islands, & yet spared to take revenge, if I did discharge some Spanish Barks taken without spoil, if I forbear all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken twentie of their Downs on the sea coasts, and did onely follow the enterprize I undertook for Guiana, where without any directions from me, a Spanish Village was burnt, which was new set up within three miles of the Myne. By your Majesties favour, I find no reason why the Spanish Ambassador should complain of me. If it were lawfull for the Spaniards to murther twentie six English.

glish men, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole moneth, and came to them on the land without so much as one sword, and that it may not be lawfull for your Majesties subjects, being charged first by them; to repell force by force, we may justly say, O miserable *English*!

If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeach* and other places in the *Honduraes*, seated in the heart of the *Spanish Indies*, burnt Towns, and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said unto them at their return, and my self forbore to look into the *Indies*; because I would not offend, I may as justly say, O miserable *Sir Walter Raleigh*!

If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffered by sicknesse and otherwise a world of miseries; if I have resisted with manifest hazard of my life, the Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich, if when I was poor, I would have made my self rich, if when I have gotten my liberty, which all men and nature it self do much prize, I voluntarily lost it, if when I was sure of my life, I rendered it again, if I might else-
where

where have sold my ship and goods, and put five or six thousand pounds in my purse, and yet brought her into *England*, I beseech your Majestie to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said to your Majestie, that your Majestie had given libertie and trust to a man whose end was but the recoverie of his libertie, and who had betrayed your Majesties trust.

My Mutiniers told me, that if I returned from *England* I should be undone, but I believed in your Majesties goodnesse more than in all their arguments. Sure, I am the first that being free and able to enrich my self; yet hath embraced povertie and perill. And as sure I am, that my example shall make me the last: but your Majesties wisdom and goodnesse I have made my judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesties

most humble Vassal

Walter Raleigh.

Six

*Sir Walter Raleighs's Letier to
his Wife, after his Condemna-
tion.*

YOU shall receive (my dear Wife) my Last words in these my Last lines; my love I send you, that you may keep when I am dead, and my counsell, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my will present you sorrows (dear Be(s)) let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seing that it is not the will of God that I shall see you any more, bear my destruction patiently, and with an heart like your self.

First I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words expresse, for your many travels and cares for me, which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the lesse; but pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bare me living, that you do not hide your self many days, but by your travels seek to help my miserable Fortunes, and the Right of your poor
Child,

Child, your mourning cannot avail me
that am but dust.

Thirdly, you shall understand, that
my Lands were conveyed (*bona fide*)
to my Child, the writings were drawn
at Midsummer was twelve moneths,
as divers can witnesse, and I trust
my blood will quench their malice
who desired my slaughter, that they
will not seek also to kill you and yours
with extreame poverty. To what friend
to direct you I know not, for all mine
have left me in the true time of tri-
all. Most sorrie am I, that being
thus surpris'd by death, I can leave
you no better Estate, God hath pre-
vented all my determinations, that
great God which worketh all in all,
and if you can live free from want,
care for no more, for the rest is
but a vanitie: Love God, and begin
betimes, in him you shall find true,
everlasting, and endlesse comfort,
when you have travelled and wearied
your self with all sorts of worldly
cogitations, you shall sit down by sorrow
in the end. Teach your son also to serve
and fear God whilest he is young, that
the fear of God may grow up in him;
then will God be an Husband to you,
and

and a Father to him, an Husband and a Father, that can never be taken from you.

Baylie oweth me a thousand pounds, and *Aryan* six hundred; in *Fernesey* also I have much owing me. (Dear wife) I beseech you, for my Soules sake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no doubt you shall be much sought unto, for the world thinks I was very rich; have a care to the fair pretences of men, for no greater miserie can befall you in this life, than to become a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. I speak (God knows) not to dissuade you from Marriage, for it will be best for you, both in respect of God and the world. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor Child for his Fathers sake, who loved you in his happiest estate. I sued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you and yours that I desired it: for, know it, (my dear Wife) your Child is the Child of a true man, who in his own respect despiseth Death and his misshapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much,

much, (God knows) how hardly I steal this time when all sleep, and it is also time for me to separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied you, and either lay it in *Sherburn* or in *Exceter* Church by my father and mother. I can say no more, Time and Death calleth me away. The everlasting God, powerfull, infinite, and inscrutable God Almighty, who is goodnesse it self, the true Light and Life, keep you and yours, and have mercy upon me, and forgive my Persecutors and false accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear Wife farewell, Blessè my Boy, Pray for me, and let my true God hold you both in his Arms.

Yours that was, but

now not mine own

-Walter Ra'eigh.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to
Prince Henry, touching the mo-
del of a Ship.

Most excellent Prince,

IF the Ship your Highness intends to
build, be bigger than the *Victorie*,
then her beams, which are laid over-
thwart from side to side will not serve
again, and many other of her timbers
and other stuff, will not serve, where-
as if she be a size less, the timber of
the old Ship will serve well to the
building of a new.

If she be bigger she will be of less
use, go very deep to water, and of
mightie charge, our Channels decay-
ing every year, less nimble, less man-
nyable, and seldom to be used *Gran-
de Navio grande fatica* saith the Spa-
niard.

A Ship of six hundred Tuns, will
carrie as good Ordinance as a Ship of
twelve hundred Tuns, and where the
greater hath double her Ordinance,
the less will turn her broad side twice,
before the great Ship can wind
once,

once, and so no advantage in that overplus of Guns. The lesser will go over clear where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is slow, unmaneyable, and ever full of encumber.

In a well conditioned Ship, these things are chiefly required.

1. That she be strong built.
2. Swift in sail.
3. Stout-sided.
4. That her Ports be so laid, as that she may carry out her Guns all weathers.
5. That she hull and trie well.
6. That she stay well, when boarding, or turning on a wind is required.

To make her strong, consisteth in the care and truth of the work-man; to make her swift, is to give her a large Run, or way forward, and so afterward, done by art and just proportion, and that in laying out of her bowes before, and quarters behind; the Shipwright be sure, that she neither sink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it, wherein Shipwrights do often fail, and then is the speed in sailing utterly spoiled.

That

That she be stout-sided, the same is provided by a long bearing floor, and by sharing off from above waters to the lower edge of the Ports, which done, then will she carry out her Ordinance all weathers.

To make her to hull and to trie well, which is called a good sea-Ship, there are two things principally to be regarded, the one that she have a good draught of water, the other that she be not overcharged: And this is seldom done in the Kings Ships, and therefore we are forced to lye, or trie in them with our main Course and mizen, which with a deep keel and standing streak, she would perform.

The extreame length of a Ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floatie and want sharpnesse of way forward. And it is most true, that such over-long Ships, are fitter for the narrow Seas in summer, than for the Ocean, or long voyages: and therefore an hundred foot by the Keel, and thirtie five foot broad is a good proportion for a great Ship.

It is to be noted, that all Ships sharp before, not having a long floor, will fall rough into the sea from a bil-

billow, and take in water over head and ears; and the same quality have all narrow-quartered ships to sink after the tail. The high Charging of ships, is that that brings many ill qualities, it makes them extreame Lee-ward, makes them sink deep into the seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and oft-times overset. Safety is more to be respected than shews, or nicenesse for eale; in sea journeys both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two Decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low Masters Cabb'n. Our Masters and Mariners will say, that the ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary Mariners served in them. But men of better fort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rowling and tumbling from side to side, where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high Charging. Besides those high Cabb'n-works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great Guns be four foot clear

above water when all lading is in, or
else these best pieces are idle at sea: for
if the Ports lie lower, and be open it is
dangerous; and by that default was a
goodly Ship, and many gallant Gen-
tlemen lost, in the days of *Henry* the
Eighth, before the Isle of *Wight*, in a
Ship called by the name of *Mary-
Rose*.

K

Sir

Sir *Walter Raleighs*

PILGRIMAGE.

Give me my Scallop shell of Quiet.
 My Staff of Faith to walk upon ;
 My Scrip of Joy immortall Diet ;
 My Bottle of Salvation.
 My Gown of Glorie (Hopes true gage)
 And thus Ile take my *Pilgrimage*.
 Bloud must be my Bodies onely Balmer,
 No other Balm will there be given
 Whil'st my Soul, like a quiet Palmer,
 Travelleth towards the Land of Heaven
 Over the silver Mountains
 Where springs the Nectar Fountains,
 There I will kisse the Bowl of Blisse,
 And drink mine everlasting fill
 Upon every Milken hill.
 My Soul will be a drie before,
 But after, it will thirst no more.
 Ile take them first to quench my Thirst,
 And tast of Nectars suckets,
 At those clear Wells
 Where sweetnest dwells,
 Drawn up by Saints in Chryſtal Buckets.
 Then by that happy blestfull day,
 More peacefull Pilgrims I shall see,
 That have cast off their rags of clay,
 And walk apparelled fresh like me,
 And when our Bottles and all we
 Are fill'd with immortalitie.

Then

Then the blessed Parts wee'l travell,
 Strow'd with Rubies thick as gravell,
 Sealings of Diamonds, Saphire flowers,
 High walls of Coral, and Pearly Bowers.
 From thence to Heavens bribeless Hall,
 Where no corrupted voices brawl,
 No Conscience molten into Gold,
 No forg'd Accuser bought or sold,
 No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent Iourny,
 For there, *CHRIS* is the Kings Attorrey;
 Who pleads for all without degrees,
 And he hath Angels, but no Fees :
 And when the twelve Grand-million Iury
 Of our Sins, with direfull furie,
 'Gainst our Souls black Verdicts give,
 Christ pleads his Death, & then we Live.
 Be thou my Speaker [taintless Pleader,
 Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder.]
 Thou would'st Salvation even for Alms,
 Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.
 And this is mine eternall Plea
 To him that made Heaven, Earth & Sea,
 That since my Flesh must die so soon,
 And want a Head to dine next noon,
 Iust at the stroak, when my Veins start &
 spread,
 Set on my Soul an everlasting Head.
 Then am I ready, like a Palmer fit (writ.
 To tread those blest Paths which before I
 Of *Death & Judgement, Heaven & Hell,*
 Who oft doth think, must needs Die wel.



Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

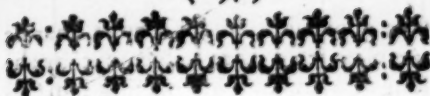
V E R S E S ;

Found in his *Bible* in the
Gate-house at West-
minster.

EVEN such is Time, which takes in trust
 Our Youth, our loys, and all we have,
 And pays us nought but Age and Dust,
 When in the dark and silent Grave :
 When we have wandred all our ways,
 Shuts up the storie of our days :
 And from which Grave, & Earth, & Dust,
 The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

Sir W. RALEIGH,
On the Snuff of a Candle
The night before he died.

Cowards fear to Die, but Courage stout,
 Rather than Live in Snuff, wil be put out.
Sir



Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S

S P E E C H

*Immediately before he
was beheaded.*

UPon *Simon and Judes* day,
the Lieutenant of the Tower
had a Warrant to bring
his Prisoner to the Kings-
Bench in *Westminster-Hall*, where the
Attorney Generall demanded Executi-
on, according to the Judgement pro-
nounced against him at *Winchester*, the
Lord Chief Justice caused the Indi-
ctment, Verdict, and judgement to be
read, and after asked him, what he
could say, Why he should not die ac-
cording to the Law; his answer was,
That this fifteen years he had lived by
the meer mercy of the King, and did
now wonder how his Mercy was turned
into Justice, he not knowing any thing
wherein he had provoked his Maje-

ties displeasure, and did hope, that he was clear from that Iudgement by the Kings Commission in making him Generall of the Voyage to *Gutana*, for (as he conceived) the words, *To his truly and well beloved subject*, &c. Did in themselves imply a Pardon. But Master Attorney told him, these words were not sufficient for that purpose. Whereupon he desired the opinion of the Court, to which the Lord Chief Iustice replied, it was no Pardon in Law.

Then began Sir *Walter Raleigh* to make a long description of the events and ends of his Voyage, but he was interrupted by the Chief Iustice, who told him, that it was not for any offence committed there, but for his first fact that he was now called in question, and thereupon told him, That seeing he must prepare to die, he would not add affliction to affliction, nor aggravate his fault, knowing him to be a man full of misery; but with the good *Samaritane* administer oyl and wine for the comfort of his distressed Soul. You have been a Generall, and a great Commander, imitate therefore that noble Captain, who thrusting himself in-

into the middest of a Battell, cried aloud, *Mors m: Expectit, & ego Mortem Expectabo*, as you should not condemn so to do, nor should you fear death, the one sheweth too much boldnesse, the other no lesse cowardize, so with some other few instructions the Court arose, and Sir Walter was committed into the hands of the Sheriff of *Middlesex*, who presently conveyed him to the Gate-house in *Westminster*.

Upon Thursday morning this Courageous, although Committed Knight, was brought before the Parliament-house, where there was a Scaffold erected for his Beheading: yet it was doubted over-night that he should be hanged, but it fell out otherwise. He had no sooner mounted the scaffold, but with a chearfull Countenance, and undaunted Look, he saluted the Company. His Attire was a wrought Night-cap, a Ruff band, a hair-coloured Sattin Doublet, with a black wrought Walte-coat under it, a pair of black cut Taffery Breeches, a pair of ash-coloured Silk Stockings, & a wrought black Velvet Night gown; putting off his Hat, he directed his Speech to the Lords present, as followeth.

My honourable Lords, and the rest of my good friends that come to see me die, Know, that I much rejoyce that it hath pleased God to bring me from darknesse to light, and in freeing me from the Tower, wherein I might have died in disgrace, by letting me live to come to this place, where though I lose my life, yet I shall clear some false accusations, unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me a testimony of a true heart, both to my King and Country.

Two things Sir W. R. have exceedingly possessed and high accused provoked his Majesties indignation against me, viz. A Confederacie, or Combination with France, and disloyall and disobedient words of my Prince. For the first, his Majestie had some cause, though grounded upon a weak foundation, to suspect mine inclination to the French faction, for not long before my departure from England, the French Agent took occasion, passing by my house, to visit me, had some conference, during the time of his abode, onely concerning my voyage, and nothing else, I take God to witnesse.

Another suspition is had of me, because I did labour to make an escape from Ply-

Plymouth to France, I cannot deny, but that willingly, when I heard a rumour, That there was no hope of my Life upon my return to London, I would have escaped for the safeguard of my Life, and not for any ill intent or conspiracie against the State.

The like reason of suspicion arose, in that I perswaded Sir Lewis Stenley, my Guardian, to flee with me from London to France, but my Answer to this is, as to the other, That onely for my safeguard, and nought else, was my intent, as I shall answer before the Almighty.

It is alleadged, That I feigned my self sick, and by art made my body full of blisters when I was at Salisbury. True it is, I did so; the reason was, because I hoped thereby to defer my coming before the King and Councell, and so by delaying, might have gained time to have got my Pardon. I have an Example out of Scripture for my warrant, that in case of necessity, and for the safeguard of my life, David feigned himself foolish and mad, yet it was not imputed to him for sin.

Concerning the second Imputation laid to my charge, that I should speak scandalous and reprochfull words of my Prince, there is no witnesse against me but onely
one,

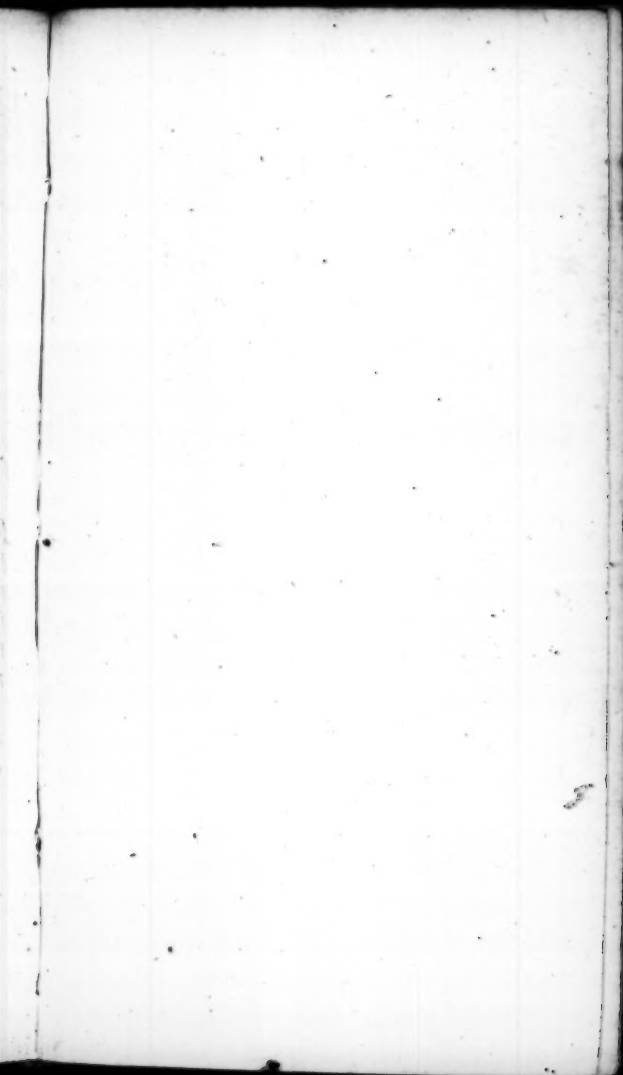
202 Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech.

one, and he a Chemicall French man, whom I entertained, rather for his Jest than his Judgement: this man to incroach himself into the favour of the Lords, and gaping after some great reward, hath falsely accused me of Seditious speeches against his Majestie; against whom, if I did either speak, or think a thought hurtfull or prejudicia'l, the Lord blot me out of the book of Life.

It is not a time to flatter or fear Princes, for I am a subject to none but Death: therefore have a charitable conceit of me. That I know to swear is an offence, to swear falsely at any time is a great sin, but to swear false before the presence of Almighty God, before whom I am forthwith to appear, were an offence unpardonable; therefore think me not now rashly, or untruly to confirm, or protest any thing.

As for other objections, in that I was brought perforce into England, that I carried sixteen thousand pounds in money out of England with me, more than I made known; that I should receive Letters from the French King, and such like, with many Protestations he utterly denied.

F I N I S.



S I R
WALTER RALEIGH'S
OBSERVATIONS,
TOUCHING
Trade & Commerce with the
HOLLANDER, and other Nati-
ons, as it was presented to
K. JAMES.

Wherein is proved, that our Sea and
Land Commodities serve to enrich and
strengthen other Countries against
our owne.

With other Passages of high
Concernment.



LONDON,
Printed by T. H. and are to be sold
by WILLIAM SHEERES,
at the sign of the Bible, over
against the North door
of S. Pauls, 1653.

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THE
P R I N T E R
TO THE
R E A D E R.

Reader:

T Hou hast here presented to thy
View, a most rare and excel-
lent Piece, both for judge-
ment and experience, by a most
incomparable hand, shewing the
cōmodities of all Christian Nations,
their Traffique with one another,
together with their severall Mer-
A 4 chandizes,

The Printer

chandizes, as also the value of their severall Coins. It was in the beginning of K. James his time presented unto him, and being at that time laid aside, in regard of more urgent affairs, it was (after divers years) again presented; but though then wanting a good prosecutor, the Authour being taken away by death, it was carefully preserved by the hands of a very learned Gentleman, my singular good friend, untill this time: who esteeming very highly of so rich a Jewell as this, was very hardly perswaded to suffer the same to be exposed to publique view. But by my extraordinary solicitation, and for that I was very sorry the world should be deprived of so excellent a Piece, and for the benefit of this Nation, in regard of the sundry

Com-

to the Reader.

Commodities for Trade and Traffique, which other Countries want, and do receive from us, as also what benefit our own Merchants might make, to their more far advantage, and to the setting many thousands of our poor people on work, he was the more willingly induced to hearken to divulging of the same. wherein what benefit thou shalt find from hence (which I know to bee exceeding great) thou must assuredly acknowledge the same to proceed from him who hath so freely imparted it to thee for thy great benefit and satisfaction. Let me intreat thee therefore (good Reader) to peruse it over, and I doubt not but thou shalt find extraordinary profit and contentment. And in the perusall whereof, consider likewise with thy selfe, what

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an innumerable benefit might have been raised since these few Observations were presented, had they been carefully put in execution, for the great good, and infinitely enriching of this Nation, the mighty encrease of Shipping and Mariners; the neglect of which, or the like good observations, hath been the occasion of the height of other petty States, and the impoverishing of our owne, as sad experience tels us.

As also what infinite vast sums of Treasure hath been gained by Strangers fishing upon our Coasts, which Fish hath been carried all the world over, as also divers other of our Land-commodities, to the great enriching of them that have none of their owne, and a great scandall to our Nation, so that scarce the
name

To the Reader.

name of our owne commodites is attributed unto us. I heartily wish, that those who governe our Sterne would but take notice hereof, and accordingly apply such wholsome remedies as their wisdomes should think meet, for prevention of so far grown a mischiese, and for the future to hearken to these or the like Directions, which would make our Nation infinitely flourish, and abate the insolencies of such as have beene sheltred and grown rich and potent by the only means of this Nation. Thus (gentle Reader) desiring, and heartily wishing the good and welfare of my Countrey, I have sent this small Piece (though great in worth) into the World, for thy benefit, wishing thee to accept it with as good a heart as it is presented, by him who is Thine to serve thee. T. H.



*May it please your most excellent
Majesty.*

According to my dutie, I am
imboldned to put your
Majesty in minde, that
about fourteen or fifteen yeares past,
I presented you a Book of such extra-
ordinary importance, for honour
and profit of your Majestie and po-
steritie, and doubting that it hath
been laid aside and not considered
of, I am incouraged (under your
Majesties pardon) to present unto
you one more, consisting of five pro-
positions, neither are they groun-
ded upon vaine or idle grounds, but
upon the fruition of those wonder-
full

full blessings, wherewith God hath indued your Majesties Sea and Land; by which means, you may not only enrich and fill your Coffers, but also increase such might and strength (as shall appeare, if it may stand with your Majesties good liking to put the same in execution in the true and right forme :) so that there is no doubt but it will make you in short time a Prince of such power so great, as shall make all the Princes your neighbours, as well glad of your friendship, as fearfull to offend you. That this is so, I humbly desire that your Majestie will vouchsafe to peruse this advertisement with that care and judgement which God hath given you.

Most humbly praying your Majesty, that whereas I presented these

these five Propositions together, as in their own natures, jointly depending one of another, and so linked together, as the distraction of any one wilbe an apparant maim and disabling to the rest. That your Majesty would be pleased that they may not be separated, but all handled together jointly and severally by Commissioners, with as much speed and secrecy as can be, and made fit to be reported to your Majesty, whereby I may be the better able to performe to your Highnesse that which I have promised and will performe upon my life, if I be not prevented by some that may seek to hinder the honour and

B 2

profit

profit of your Majestie for
their own private ends.

THe true ground, course,
and forme herein mentio-
ned shall appeare how other
Countries make themselves power-
full and rich in all kindes, by Mer-
chandize, Manufactory, and ful-
nesse of Trade, having no Commo-
dities in their own Countrey grow-
ing to do it withall.

And herein likewise shall appear
how easie it is to draw the wealth
and strength of other Countries to
your Kingdome, and what royall,
rich, and plenti full means God hath
given this Land to do it (which
cannot be denied) for support of
traffique and continuell employ-
ment

ment of your People for replenishing
of your Majesties Coffers.

And if I were not fully assured
to improve your native Commodi-
ties, with other traffick, three milli-
ons of pounds more yearly then now
they are, and to bring not only to
your Majesties Coffers within the
space of two or three years near two
millions of pounds; but to increase
your Revenues many thousands
yearly, and to please and greatly pro-
fit your people, I would not have un-
dertaken so great a work: All which
wil grow by advancement of all kind
of Merchandizing to the uttermost,
thereby to bring Manufactory into
the Kingdome, and to set on worke
all sorts of people in the Realm, as
other Nations do, which raise their
greatnesse by the abundance of your

*native commodities : whilst we are
parling and disputing whether it be
good for us or not.*

*May it please your most excellent
Majesty.*



Have diligently in my
Travels observed how
the Countreys herein
mentioned doe grow
potent with abundāce
of all things to serve
themselves and other Nations, where
nothing groweth, and that their ne-
ver dried fountains of wealth, by
which they raise their estate to such an
admirable height, as that they are at
this day even a wonder to the world,
proceedth from your Majesties Seas
and Lands.

I thus moved, began to dive into
the

the depth of their policies and circumventing practises, whereby they drain and still cover to exhaust the wealth and coin of this Kingdome, and so with our owne commodities to weaken us, and finally beat us quite out of trading in other Countreys; I found that they more fully obtained these their purposes by their convenient priviledges, and settled constitutions, then England with all the Lawes, and superabundance of hombred commodities which God hath vouchsafed your Sea and Land : And these, and other mentioned in this booke, are the urgent causes that provoked me in my love and bounden duty to your Maj. lty and my Countrey, to addresse my former Books to your princely hands and consideration.

By which Priviledges they draw multitudes of Merchants to Trade with them; and many other Nations to inhabite amongst them, which

makes them populous, and there they make Store-houſes of all forraign Commodities, wherewith upon every occaſion of ſcarcity and dearth, they are able to furniſh forrain Countries with plenty of thoſe Commodities, which before in time of plenty they ingroſſed, & brought home from the ſame places, w^{ch} doth greatly augment power & treasure to their State, beſides the common good in ſetting their poore and people on worke.

To which priviledges they adde ſmallneſſe of cuſtome, and liberty of Trade, which maketh them flouriſh, and their Countrey ſo plentifull of all kinde of Coyne and Commodities, where little or nothing groweth, and their Merchants ſo flouriſh, that when a loſſe cometh they ſcarce feel it.

To bring this to paſs, they have many advantages of us, the one is, by their faſhioned Ships called Boyers, Hoybarks, Hoyes, and others, that
are

are made to hold great bulke of Merchandize, and to saile with a few men for profit: For example, though a English Ship of two hundred Tuns, and a Holland Ship, or any other of the petty States of the same burthen be at Danske, or any other place beyond the Seas, or in England, they do serve the Merchant better cheap by one hundred pounds in his freight, than we can, by reason hee hath but nine or ten Marriners, and we neare thirty; thus he saveth twenty mens meat and wages in a voyage, and so in all other their ships, according to their burden, by which means they are freighted wheresoever they come, to great profit, whilst our Ships ly still & decay, or go to Newcastle for Coales.

Of this their smallnesse of custome inwards and outwards, we have daily experience; for if two English ships, or two of any other Nation bee at Burdeaux, both laden with wine of
thre

three hundred Tuns a peece, the one bound for Holland, or any other petty States, the other for England, the Merchant shall pay about nine hundred pound custome here, and other duties, when the other in Holland, or any other petty States, shall be cleared for lesse then fifty pound, and so in all other wares and Merchandizes accordingly, which drawes all Nations to traffick with them; and although it seems but small duties which they receive, yet the multitudes of all kind of Commodities and Coyne that is brought in by themselves and others, and carried out by themselves and others, is so great, that they receive more custome and duties to the State, by the greatnesse of their commerce in one yeare, then England doth in two yeares; for the one hundredth part of Commodities are not spent in Holland, but vented into other Countries, which maketh all the Countrey Merchants,

chants to buy and sell, and increase
Ships and Martiners to transport
them.

My travells and meaning is not to
diminish (neither hath been) your
Majesties Revenues, but exceedingly
to increase them, as shall appeare, and
yet please the people, as in other parts
they do.

Notwithstanding , their Excises
brings them in great Revenues , yet
whosoever will adventure to Burde-
aux but for six Tuns of Wine, shall be
free of Excise in his owne house all
the yeere long ; and this is done of
purpose to annimate and increase
Merchants in their Countrey.

And if it happen that a Trade be stop-
ped by any forraign Nation , which
they heretofore usually had, or hear of
any good Trading which they never
had, they will hinder others, and seek
either by favour, money, or force, to
open the gap of Traffick for advance-
ment.

ment of Trade amongst themselves, and imployment of their people.

And when there is a new course or Trade erected, they give free custome inwards and outwards, for the better maintenance of Navigation, and encouragement of the people to that businesse.

Thus they and others gleane the wealth and strength from us to themselves, and these reasons following procures them this advantage of us.

1. The Merchant Staplers which make all things in abundance, by reason of their Store-houses continually replenished with all kinde of Commodities.

2. The liberty of free Traffick for strangers to buy and sell in Holland, and other Countreys and States, as if they were free-borne, maketh great intercourse.

3. The small duties levied upon Merchants, drawes all Nations to trade with them.

4. Their

4. Their fashioned Ships continually freighted before ours by reason of their few Marriners, and great bulke, serving the Merchant cheap.

5. Their forwardnesse to further all manner of trading.

6. Their wonderfull employment of their Busses for fishing, and the great returns they make.

7. Their giving free Custome inwards and outwards, for any new erected Trade, by means whereof they have gotten already almost the sole Trade into their hands.

All Nations may buy and sell freely in France, and there is free custome outwards twice or thrice in a yeare, at which time our Merchants themselves doe make their great sales of English Commodities, and doe buy and lade their great bulke of French Commodities to serve for the whole yeare; and in Rochell, in France, and in Britain, free custome all the yeare long,

long, except some small Toll, which makes great Traffick, and maketh them flourish,

In Denmarke to incourage and enrich the Merchants, and to increase Ships and Marriners, free custome all the yeare long for their owne Merchants, except one Moneth between *Bartholomew-tide* and *Michaelmas*.

The Haunce Townies have advantage of us, as Holland, and other petty States have, and in most things imitate them, which makes them exceeding rich and plentifull of all kind of Commodities and Coyne, and so strong in ships and Marriners, that some of their Towns have neare one thousand sail of Ships.

The Marchandizes of France, Portugall, Spaine, Italy, Turkey, East and West Indies, are transported most by the Hollanders and other petty States into the East and North-East Kingdomes of Pomerland, Spruce-land,

land, Poland, Denmark, Sweathland, Liffland, and Germany, and the Merchandizes brought from the last mentioned Kingdomes, being wonderfull many, are likewise by the Hollanders and other petty States most transported into the Southern and Western Dominions, and yet the situation of England lyeth far better for a Storehouse to serve the Southern East and North-East Regions, than theirs doth, and hath far better meanes to doe it, if we will bend our course for it.

No sooner a dearth of Fish, Wine, or Corn here, and other Merchandize, but forthwith the Embdoners, Hamburgers, and Hollanders, out of their Store-houses lade fifty, or one hundred ships, or more, dispersing themselves round about this Kingdome, and carry away great store of coyne and wealth for little commodity in those times of dearth. by which meanes they suck our Common-wealth of
their

their riches, cut down our Merchants, and decay our Navigation, not with their naturall commodities which groweth in their own Countries, but the Merchandizes of other Countreys and Kingdomes.

Therefore it is farre more easier to serve themselves, hold up our Merchants, and increase our Ships and Mariners, and strengthen the Kingdom, and not onely keep our money in our owne Realme, which other Nations still rob us of, but bring in theirs who carrie ours away, and make the banke of Coyne and Storehouse to serve other Nations as well and far better cheap than they.

Amsterdam is never without seven hundred thousand Quarters of Corn, besides the plenty they daily vent, and none of this groweth in their owne Countrey: a dearth in England, France, Spaine, Italy, Portugall, and other places, is truly observed to in-
rich

rich Holland seven yeeres after; and likewise the petty States.

For example, the last Dearth six years past, the Hamburgers, Embdeners, and Hollanders out of their Store-houses furnished this Kingdom, and from Southampton, Exeter, and Bristow, in a yeare and a halfe they carried away near two hundred thousand pounds from these parts onely; then what great quantitie of coyns was transported round about your Kingdome from every Port Towne, and from your City of London, and other Cities cannot be esteemed so little as two millions, to the great decay of your Kingdom, and impoverishing your people, discredit to the Company of Merchants, and dishonour to the Land, that any Nation that have no Corne in their owne Countrey growing, should serve this famous Kingdome, which God hath so enabled within it selfe.

They

They have a continuall Trade into this Kingdome with five or six hundred Ships yearly, with Merchandizes of other Countreys and Kingdomes, and store them up in store-houses here untill the prices rise to their mindes, and we trade not with fifty ships into their Countrey in a yeare, and the said number are about this Realme every Easterne winde for the most part to lade Coales and other Merchandize.

Unlesse there be a scarcity, or dearth, or high prices, all Merchants doe forbear that place where great impositions are laid upon the Merchandize, and those places slenderly shipped, ill served, and at dear rates, and oftentimes in scarcity, and want employment for the people; and those petty States finding truly by experience that small duties imposed upon Merchandize draweth all Trafficke unto them, and free liberty for strangers to buy and sell doth make continuall
 Marr;

Mart ; therefore what Excizes or Impositions are laid upon the Common-people, yet they still ease, uphold and maintaine the Merchants by all possible meanes, of purpose to draw the wealth and strength of Christendom to themselves; whereby it appeareth though the duties be but small, yet the customes for going out and coming in doth so abound, that they increase their Revenues greatly, and make profit, plenty, and imployment of all sorts by Sea and Land to serve themselves and other Nations, as is admirable to behold : And likewise the great commerce which groweth by the same meanes, inableth the common people to bear their burthen laid upon them, and yet they grow rich by reason of the great commerce and Trade, occasioned by their convenient priviledges, and commodious constitutions.

There was an intercourse of Traffick,

sick in Genoa, and there was the flower of commerce, as appeareth by their ancient Records, and their sumptuous buildings, for all Nations traded with Merchandize to them, and there was the store-house of all Italy and other places; but after they had set a great custome of *xvi. per cent.* all Nations left trading with them, which made them give themselves wholly to usury, and at this day wee have not three ships goe there in a yeare: but to the contrary, the Duke of Florence builded Ligorn, and set small custome upon Merchandize, and gave them great and pleasing priviledges, which hath made a rich and strong City with a flourishing State.

Furthermore touching some particulars needfull to be considered, of the mighty huge fishing that ever could be heard of in the world, is upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland; but the great Fishery is in the
Low-

Low-Countries, and other petty States, wherewith they serve themselves and all Christendome, as shall appear.

In four Towns in the East Kingdoms within the Sound, Quinsbrough, Elbing, Statten, and Dausick, there is carried and vented in a yeere, between thirty or forty thousand Last of Herrings sold but at fifteen or sixteen pounds the Last, is about 620000.l. and we none.

Besides, Denmark, Norway, Swea-then, Leifland, Rie, Nevill, the Narve, and other Port Townes within the Sound, there is carried and vented above 100000. Lasts of Herrings sold at fifteen or sixteen pounds the Last, is 170000. pounds; more yeerly in such request are our Herrings there, that they are oftentimes sold for 20. 24. 30. and 36. pound the Last, and we send not one barrell into all these East Countreys.

The

The Hollanders sent into Russia neare fifteen hundred Lasts of Herrings, sold about thirty shillings the barrell, amounteth to 27000. pound, and we but about twenty or thirty Lasts.

To Scoade, Hambrough, Breame, and Embden upon the River of Elve, Weaser, and Embs, is carried and vented of Fish and Herrings about 6000. Lasts, sold about fifteen or sixteen pound the Last, is 100000 l. and we none.

Cleaveland, Gulickland, up the River of Rhine to Cullen, Frankford, or the Maine, and so over all Germany is carried and vented of Fish and Herrings neare 22000. Lasts, sold at twenty pound the Last, is 440000 l. and we none.

Up the River of Mize, Leigh, Mastrith, Vendlow, Sutphin, Deventer, Campen, Swoole, and all over Luke-land is carried and vented 7000. Lasts

of

of Herrings, sold at twenty pound the Last is 140000 pound, and wee none.

To Gelderland, Artois, Henault, Brabant, Flanders, up the River of Antwerp, all over the Arch Dukes Countreys, is carried and vented between eight or nine thousand Lasts sold at eighteen pound the Last is 171000 l. and we none.

The Hollanders and others carried of all sorts of Herrings to Roane only in one yeere, besides all other parts of France, 50000. Lasts of Herrings sold at twenty pound the Last, is 100000 l. and wee not one hundred Last thither: they are sold often times there for twenty, and four and twenty, and thirty pound the Last.

Between Christmase and Lent, the duties for Fish and Herrings came to 15000 Crownes at Roane only that yeare, the late Queen deceased; Sir *Thomas Parrie* was Agent there then, and

and S. Savors his man knowes it to be true, who handled the businesse for pulling down the Impositions then, what great summes of money came to all in the Port Townes to inrich the French Kings Coffers, and to all the Kings and States throughout Christendome to inrich their Coffers; besides the great quantity vented to the Straights, and the multitude spent in the Low-Countries, where there is likewise sold for many a hundred thousand pound more yeerly, is necessary to be remembred; and the stream to be turned to the good of this Kingdome, to whose Sea coasts God onely hath sent and given these great blessings and multitude of riches for us to take, howsoever it hath been neglected to the hurt of this Kingdome, that any Nation should carry away out of this Kingdome yearely great masses of money for Fish taken in our Seas, and sold againe by them to us, which must

must needs be a great dishonor to our Nation, and hindrance to this Realm.

From any Port Towne of any Kingdome within Christendome, the Bridgemaister or the Wharemaister for twenty shillings a yeare will deliver a true Note of the number of Lists of Herrings brought to their Wharves, and their prices commonly they are sold at, but the number brought to Danske, Cullen, Rotterdam, and Enchusen is so great, as it will cost three, four, or five pound for a true Note.

The abundance of Corne groweth in the East Kingdomes, but the great Store-houses for graine to serve Christendome and the Heathen Countries in time of dearth, is in the Low-Countreyes, wherewith upon every occasion of scarcity and dearth they doe enrich themselves seven yeares after, imploy their people, and get great fraights for their Ships in other Countries, and we not one in that course.

The mighty Vineyards and store of Salt is in France and Spaine; but the great Vintage and Staple of Salt is in the Low-Countreyes, and they send neare one thousand saile of ships with Salt and Wine onely into the East Kingdomes yearly, besides other places, and we not one in that course.

The exceeding Groves of Wood are in the East Kingdomes, but the huge piles of Wainscot, Clapboard, Firdeale, Masts, and Timber is in the Low-Countreyes, where none groweth, wherewith they serve themselves, and other parts, and this Kingdome with those Commodities; they have five or six hundred great long ships continually using that Trade, and we none in that course.

The Wool, Cloath, Lead, Tin, and divers other Commodities are in England, but by meanes of our Wool and Cloath going out ruff, undrest, and undied, there is an exceeding manu-
facto-

factory and Drapery in the Low-Countreys, wherewith they serve themselves, and other Nations, and advanceth greatly the imployment of their people at home, and Traffick abroad, and puts downe ours in forrain parts, where our Marchants trade unto, with our own Commodities.

We send into the East Kingdomes yeerly but one hundred ships, and our Trade chiefly dependeth upon three Towns, Eibinge, Kingsborough, and Danske, for making our Sails, and buying their Commodities sent into this Realme at dear rates, which this Kingdome bears the burthen of.

The Low-Countreyes send into the East Kingdomes yeerly about three thousand ships, trading into every City and Port Town, taking the advantage, and venting their Commodities to exceeding profit, and buying and lading their ships with plenty of those Commodities, which they have

from every of those Townes 20. *per cent.* better cheap then we by reason of the difference of the Coyne, and their fish yeelds ready money, which greatly advanceth their Traffick, and decayeth ours.

They send into France, Spaine, Portugall, Italy, from the East Kingdomes that passeth through the Sound, and through your narrow Seas, yearly of the East Countrey commodities about two thousand ships, and wee none in that course.

They trade into all Cities, and Port Towns in France, and we chiefly to five or six.

They traffick into every City and Port Town round about this Land, with five or six hundred ships yearly, and we chiefly but to three Townes in their Countrey, and but with forty ships.

Notwithstanding the Low-Countries have as many ships and vessells

aseleven Kingdomes of Christendom have, let England be one, and build every yeere neer one thousand ships, and not a timber tree growing in their owne Countrey, and that also all their home-bred commodities that grow in their Land in a yeere, (lesse then one hundred good ships are able to carry them away at one time,) yet they handle the matter so for setting them all on worke, that their Traffick with the Haunce Towns exceeds in shipping all Christendom.

We have all things of our owne in superabundance to increase Traffick, and Timber to build ships, and commodities of our owne to lade about one thousand ships and vessells at one time, (besides the great fishing) and as fast as they have made their voyages might re-lade againe, and so yeare after yeare all the year long to continue, yet our Ships and Marriners decline, and Traffick and Merchants daily decay.

The maine bulke and Mass of Herrings from whence they raise so many millions yearly that enrich other Kingdomes, Kings and States Coffers, and likewise their owne people, proceedeth from your Seas and Lands, and the return of the Commodities and Coyne they bring home in exchange of fish and other Commodities are so huge, as would require a large discourse apart; all the amends they make us is, they beat us out of Trade in all parts with our own Commodities.

For instance, we had a great Trade in Russia seventy yeares, and about fourteen years past we sent store of goodly ships to trade in those parts, and three years past we set out but foure, and this last yeare two or three; but to the contrary the Hollanders about twenty years since traded thither with two ships onely, yet now they are increased to about thirty or
forty

forty, and one of their ships is as great as two of ours, and at the same time (in their troubles there) that we decreased, they increased, and the chiefest Commodities they carry with them thither, is, English Cloath, Herrings taken in our Seas, English Lead and Pewter made of our Tin, besides other Commodities; all which wee may doe better then they. And although it be a cheap Countrey, and the Trade very gainfull, yet we have almost brought it to nought, by disorderly trading, joynt-stock, and the Merchants banding themselves one against another,

And so likewise we used to have 8. or 9. great ships to go continually a fishing to Wardhouse, and this yeare but one, and so *per rato* they out-go us in all kinde of fishing and marchandizing in all Countreies, by reason they spare no cost, nor deny no priviledges that may incourage advancement of trade & manufactory. C4 Now

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*Now if it please, and with your
Majesties good liking stand,*

TO take notice of these things,
which I have conceived to bee
fit for your Majesties consideration,
which in all humbleness (as duty
bindeth me) I doe tender unto your
Majestie, for the unfained zeale I bear
to the advancement of your honour
and profit, and the generall good of
your Subjects, it being apparent that
no three Kingdomes in Christendome
can compare with your Majesty for
support of Traffick, and continually
mployment of your people within
themselves, having so many great
meanes both by Sea and Land to in-
rich your Coffers, multiply your Na-
vie, inlarge your Traffick, make your
Kingdomes powerfull, and your peo-
ple

ple rich ; yet through idlenesse they are poore, wanting imployment, many of your Land and Coast Townes much ruinated , and your Kingdome in need of Coyn, your Shipping, Traffick, and Marriners decayed , whilest your Majesties Neighbour Princes, without these meanes, abound in wealth , inlarge their Townes , increase their Shipping , Traffick , and Marriners, and finde out such imployment for their people , that they are all advantagious to their Commonwealth , onely by ordaining commodious constitutions in Merchandizing , and fulnesse of Trade in Manufactory.

*God hath blest your Majesty with
incomparable benefits :*

AS with Copper, Lead, Iron, Tin,
Alum, Copperas, Saffron, Fells,
and divers other native Commodities,
to the number of about one hundred,
and other Manufactories vendible to
the number of about one thousand,
(as shall appeare) besides Corne,
whereof great quantity of Beere is
made, and most transported by stran-
gers, as also Wool, whereof much is
shipped forth unwrought into Cloath
or Stuffs, and Cloath transported un-
drest and undied, which doth imploy
and maintain neer fifty thousand peo-
ple in forraigne parts, your Majesties
people wanting the in p'oyment in
England, many of them being in-
forced to live in great want, and seek
it beyond the Seas. Coles

Coles which doth imp'oy hundreds of Strangers ships yearly to transport them out of this Kingdome, whikst we doe not imploy twenty ships in that course.

Iron Ordnance, which is a jewell of great value, far more than it is accounted, by reason that no other Countrey could ever attaine unto it, although they have assayed it with great charge.

Your Mjsty hath timber of your owne for building of Ships, and commodities plenty to lade them, which commodities other Nations want, yet your Mjsties peop'e decline in Shipping, Traffique, and Mariners.

These

These Inconveniences happen by three causes' especially.

1. *The unprofitable course of merchandizing.*
 2. *The want of course of full Manufactory of our home-bred commodities.*
 3. *The undervaluing of our Coynes, contrary to the rules of other Nations.*
-

For instance.

THe Merchant Adventurers by overtaking upon credit, or with money taken up upon exchange, whereby

whereby they lose usually ten or twelve, and sometimes fifteen or sixteen *per cent.* are enforced to make sale of their cloaths at under-rates, to keep their credit, whereby cloaths being the Jewell of the Land, is undervalued, and the Marchant in short time eaten out.

The Merchants of Ipswich, whose Trade for Elbing is chiefly for fine cloaths, and some few sorting cloaths all died and drest within our Land, do for the most part, buy their fine cloaths upon Time, and by reason they go so much upon credit, they are enforced (not being able to stand upon their Markets) to sell, giving fifteene or eighteene Moneths day of payment for their cloaths, and having sold them, they then presently sell their bills so taken for cloath, allowing after the rate of fourteen or fifteen, and sometimes twenty *per cent.* which

which money they imploy forthwith in wares at excessive prices, and lose as much more that way, by that time their wares be sold at home: Thus by over-running themselves upon credit, they disable themselves and others, inhancing the prices of forraign commodities, and pulling down the rates of our owne.

The West Country Merchants that trade with cloaths into France or Spain, do usually imploy their servants, (young men of small experience, who by cunning combining of the French and Spanish Merchants, are so intrapp'd, that when all customs and charges be accompted, their Masters shall hardly receive their principall moneys. As for returns out of France, their silver and gold is so highly rated, that our Merchants cannot bring it home, but to great losse; therefore the French Merchants set
higher

higher rates upon their commodities, which we must either buy deare, or let our monies lie dead there a long time, untill we may conveniently imploy the same.

The Northern Merchants of York, Hull and Newcastle, trade onely in white Kersies and coloured dozzens, and every Merchant, be his Adventure never so small, doth for the most part, send over an unexperienced youth, unfit for merchandizing, which bringeth to the stranger great advantage, but to his Master and common weale great hindrance; for they before their goods be landed, go to the stranger, and buy such quantities of Iron Flax, Corn, and other Commodities, as they are bound to lade their ships withall, which ships they ingage themselves to relade within three weekes, or a moneth, and doe give the price the Merchant stranger asketh, because he
gives

gives them credit, and lets them ship away their Iron, Flax, and other commodities, before they have sold their Kerfies, and other commodities, by which meanes extraordinary deere commodities are returned into this Realme, and the servant also inforced to sell his cloaths underfoot, and oftentimes to losse, to keep his credit, and to make payment for the goods before shipped home, having some twenty dayes, or a moneths respite to sell the cloaths, and to give the Merchant satisfaction for his Iron, Flax, and other wares; by which extremities our homebred commodities are abused.

Touching

Touching Manufactory.

THere hath been about fourscore thousand undrest and undied cloaths yearly transported.

It is therefore evident, that the Kingdome hath been yeerly deprived of about 400000 l. within this five and fifty years, which is near twenty millions that would have been gained by the labour of poor workmen in that time, with the Merchants gains for bringing in dying stuffs, and return of cloaths drest and died, with other benefits to the Realme, besides exceeding inlarging of Trafficke, and increase of Ships and Marri-ners.

There would have been gained in
that

that time about three millions by increase of custome upon commodities returned for cloaths drest and died, and for dying stuffs, which would have more plentifully been brought in and used for the same.

There hath been also transported in that time yearly by Bayse, Northerne and Devonshire Kersies white, about 50000 cloaths, counting three Kersies to a cloath, whereby hath been lost about five millions by those sorts of cloaths in that time, which would have come to poor workmen for their labour, with the customes for dying stuffs, and the peoples profit for bringing them in, with returnes of other commodities and fraights for shipping.

Bayse are transported white into Amsterdam, and being there drest and died, are shipped into Spain, Portugal, and

and other Kingdomes, where they are sold in the name of Flemish Baize, setting their owne Town Seale upon them, so that we lose the very name of our home-bred commodities, and other Countreys get the reputation and profit thereof: Lamentable it is, that this Land should be deprived of so many above mentioned Millions, and that our native commodities of cloath, ordained of God for the naturall subjects, being so royall and rich in it selfe, should be driven to so small advantage of reputation and profit to your Majesty and people, and so much improved and intercepted by strangers, considering that God hath inabled, and given your Majesty power to advance dressing and dying, and transporting of all your cloaths, within a yeare or two; I speake it knowingly, to shew how it may be done laudably, lawfully and approved to be honourable, feasible, and profitable.

All

All the Companies of your Land transport their cloaths drest and died, to the good of your Kingdome, except the Merchant Adventurers, whereby the Eastland and Turkey Merchants, with other Companies, do increase your Majesties customes by bringing in, and spending dying stuffs, and setting your people on worke, by dressing before they transport them; and they might increase far more custome to your Majesty, and make much more profit to themselves, and this Realme, and set many thousands of poore people more on worke for dressing and dying, and likewise imploy more ships and Marriners, for bringing in dying stuffs, were it not for the Merchant Adventurers, who transport their cloaths white, rough, undrest, and undied, into the Low-Countreys, where they sell them to the strangers, who afterwards dresse, die, and stretch them to such unreasonable lengths,
contrary

contrary to our Law, that they prevent and fore-stall our Markets, and crosse the just prohibitions of our State and Realme, by their Agents and Factors lying in divers places with our owne cloaths, to the great decay of this Kingdome in generall; and discredit of our cloaths in particular.

If the accompt were truly known, it would be found that they make not cleare profit, onely by cloath transported rough, undrest, and undied, sixty thousand pounds a yeare: But it is most apparant your Majesty in your customes, your Merchants in their sales and prices, your Subjects in their labours, for lack of not dressing and dying, your Ships and Marriners in not bringing in of dying stuffs, and spending of Allum, is hindred yearly neer a million of pounds, so that trade is driven to the great hindrance of your Majesty and people, by permitting

ing your native commodities to passe rough, undrest, and undied, by the Merchant Adventurer.

Touching Fishing.

THe great Sea businesse of Fishing doth imploy neare twenty thousand ships, and vessells, and four hundred thousand people are employed yearly upon your Coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with sixty ships of War, which may prove dangerous.

The Hollanders onely have about three thousand ships to fissa withall, and fifty thousand people are employed yearly by them upon your Majesties coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

These

These three thousand fishing ships and vessels of the Hollanders, doth imploy near nine thousand other ships and vessels, and one hundred and fifty thousand persons more by Sea and Land to make provision to dress and transport the Fish they take, and returne commodities, whereby they are inabled, and do build yeerly one thousand ships and vessells, having not one timber tree growing in their owne Countrey, nor home-bred commodities to lade one hundred ships, and yet they have twenty thousand ships and vessells, and all imployed.

King *Henry* the seventh, desirous to make his Kingdomes powerfull and rich by increase of Ships and Marri-ners, and imployment of his people, sent unto his Sea-coast Townes, moving them to set up the great and rich fishing, with promise to give them needfull priviledges, and to furnish
them

them with loanes of money, if need were, to incourage them, yet his people were slack. Now since I have traced this businesse, and made mine indeavours knowne unto your Majesty, your Noblemen, able Merchants, and others, (who having set down under their hands for more assurance) promised to disburse large sums of money for the building up of this great and rich large Sea-City, which will increafe more strength to your Land, give more comfort, and doe more good to all your Cities and Townes, than all the Companies of your Kingdome, having fit and needfull privileges for the upholding and strengthening of so weighry and needfull a businesse.

For example, twenty Busses built and put into a Sea-coast Towne where there is not one ship before, there must be to carry, re-carry, transport, and
make

make provision for one Buss three ships; likewise every ship setting on worke thirty severall trades and occupations, and foure hundred thousand persons by Sea and Land, inso-much as three hundred persons are not able to make one Fleet of Nets in foure moneths for one Buss, which is no small impolymēt.

Thus by twenty Busses are set on work near eight thousand persons by Sea and Land, and an increase of above one thousand Marriners, and a Fleet of eighty saile of Ships to belong to one Towne, where none were before to take the wealth out of the Sea to enrich and strengthen the Land, only by raising of twenty Busses.

Then what good one thousand; or two thousand will doe, I leave to your Majesties consideration.

It is worthy to be noted, how necessary Fishermen are to the Common-wealth, and how needfull to be advanced and cherished, *viz.*

1. For taking Gods blessing out of the Sea to enrich the Realm, which otherwise we lose.
2. For setting the people on worke.
3. For making plenty and cheapnesse in the Realm.
4. For increasing of shipping, to make the Land powerfull.
5. For a continuall Nurcery for breeding and increasing our Mariners.
6. For making imployment of all sorts of people, as blinde, lame,
and

and others by Sea and Land from ten or twelve years upwards.

7. For enriching your Majesties Coffers, for Merchandizes returned from other Countreyes for Fish and Herrings.

8. For the increase and inabling of Merchants, which now droop and daily decay.

Touching the Coyne.

FOr the most part, all Monarchies and free States, both Heathen and Christian, as Turkey, Barbary, France, Poland, and others, do hold for a rule of never-failing profit, to keep their Coyne at higher rates within their own Territories, than it is in other Kingdomes.

The Causes.

1. To preserve the Coyne within their owne Territories.
 2. To bring unto themselves the Coyne of Forraigne Princes.
 3. To inforce Merchant strangers to take their commodities at high rates, which this Kingdom beares the burthen of.
-

For instance.

THe King of Barbafy perceiving the Trade of Christian Merchants to increase in his Kingdome, and that the returnes out of his Kingdomes was most in Gold, whereby it was much inhanced, raised his Ducket (being then currant for three ounces) to foure, five, and six ounces; neverthe-
lesse

lesse it was no more worth in England, being so raised, then when it went for three ounces.

This Ducket currant for three ounces in Barbary, was then worth in England seven shillings and six pence, and no more worth, being raised to six ounces, since which (time adding to it a small piece of gold) hee hath raised it to eight, and lastly to ten ounces, yet at this day it is worth but ten shillings, and one penny, notwithstanding your Majesties late raising of your gold.

Having thus raised his gold, he then devised to have plenty of silver brought into his Kingdome, raised the royall of eight, being but two ounces to three, and three pence half penny, which caused great plenty of silver to be brought in, and to continue in his Kingdome.

France.

THe English Jacobus goeth for three and twenty shillings in Merchandizing,

The French Crowne for seven shillings and six pence.

Also the King hath raised his silver foure Sowce in the Crowne.

North-Holland.

THe double Jacobus goeth for three and twenty shillings Sterling.

The English shilling is there eleven

ven stivers, which is two shillings over in the pound.

Poland.

THe King of Poland raised his Hungary Ducket from 56 to $77\frac{1}{2}$ Polinsh groshes, and the Rich Dollor from 36 to 47 and $\frac{1}{2}$ groshes, the Reich Dollor worth in Poland 47 and $\frac{1}{2}$ groshes, is by account valued at 6 s. 4 d. Sterling, and here in England is worth but 4 s. 7 d. The Hungary Ducket 77 is worth by account in Poland 10 s. 4 d. and in England is worth but 7 s. 10 d. The Jacobus of England here currant for 22 s. in Poland 24 s. at the rate of 7 s. 10 d. for the Hungary Ducket.

D 4.

Now

Now to turne the stream
and riches raised by your
Majesties native commodi-
ties into the naturall chan-
nell, from whence it hath
been a long time diverted;

*May it please your Majesty to con-
sider these points following.*

1. **W**Hether it bee not fit
that a State-Merchant
be settled within your Domini-
ons, which may both dispose
more profitably of the riches
thereof, and incounter polli-
cies of Merchant strangers, who
now go beyond us in all kinde
of

of profitable Merchandizing.

2. Whether it be not necessary that your native commodities should receive their full Manufactory by your Subjects within your Dominions.

3. Whether it be not fit the coales should yeeld your Majesty and Subjects a better value, by permitting them to passe out of the Land, and that they be in your Subjects shipping only transported.

4. Whether it be not fit your Majesty presently raise your Coyne to as high rates, as it is in the parts beyond the Seas.

D 5 5. Whe

5. Whether it be not necessary that the great Sea-business of Fishing be forthwith set forward.

If it please your Majesty to approve of these considerations, and accordingly to put them in a right course of execution, I assure my selfe (by Gods help) in short time your Majesties Customs, and the continuall commings into your Coffers, will be exceedingly increased, your Ships and Marriners trebled, your Land and waste Townes (which are now run out of Gates) better replenished, and your people imployed, to the great enriching and honour of your Kingdome, with the applause, and to the comfort

fort of all your loyall Subjects.

May it please your Majesty.

I Have the rather undergone the paines to looke into their pollicies, because I have heard them professe they hoped to get the whole trade and Shipping of Christendome into their owne hands as well for transportation, as otherwise for the command and master of the Seas, to which end I finde that they do daily increase their traffick, augmenting their Shipping, multiplying their Marriners, strength, and wealth in all kindes, whereat I have grieved the more, when I considered how God hath indued this Kingdome above any three Kingdomes in Christendom with divers varieties of home-bred commodities, which others have not, and cannot

not want, and indued us with sundry other meanes to continue and maintaine trade of Merchandizing and Fishing beyond them all, whereby we might prevent the deceivers, ingrosse the commodities of the ingrossers, enrich our selves, and increase our Navigation, Shipping, and Mariners, so as it would make all Nations to vaile the Bonnet to England, if we would not be still wanting to our selves in-employment of our people.

Which people being divided into three parts, two parts of them are meere spenders and consumers of a Common-wealth, therefore I aime at these points following.

To allure and incourage the people for their private gaine, to be all workers and erecters of a Common-wealth,

To

To enrich and fill your Majesties Coffers by a continuall comming in, and make your people wealthy, by meanes of their great and profitable trading and imployment.

To vent our home-bred commodities to farre more reputation, and much more profit to the King, the Merchant, and the Kingdome.

To returne the Merchandizes of other Countries at farre cheaper rates than now they are, to the great good of the Realme in generall.

To make the Land powerfull by increasing of Ships and Marriners.

To make your peoples takings in generall to be much more every day, than now they are, which by Gods help, will grow continually more and more by the great concourse and commerce

merce that will come by settled constitutions and convenient priviledges, as in other-parts they doe by this their great freedome of Trade.

All this, and much more is done in other Countreys, where nothing groweth, so that of nothing they make great things,

Then how much more mighty things might we make, where so great abundance, and variety of home bred commodities, and rich materialls growes, for your people to worke upon, and other plentifull means to doe that withall, which other Nations neither have, nor cannot want, but of necessity must be furnished from hence? And now whereas our merchandizing is wild, utterly confused, and out of frame, as at large appeareth, a State-Merchant will roundly and effectually bring all the premi-

premises to passe, fill your Havens with ships, those ships with Mariners, your Kingdom full of Merchants, their houses full of our landish commodities, and your Coffers full of coyne, as in other parts they doe, and your people shall have just cause to hold in happy memory, that your Majesty was the beginner of so profitable, praise-worthy, and renowned a worke, being the true Philosophers stone to make your Majesty a rich and potent King, and your Subjects happy people, onely by setting of a State-Merchant, whereby your people may have fulnesse of Trade and Manufactory, and yet hold both honourable and profitable Government without breakings of Companies.

And for that in the setting of so weighty a businesse many things of great consequence must necessarily fall

fall into consideration, I humbly pray that your Majesty may be pleased (for the bringing of this great service to light) to give me leave to nominate the Commissioners, and your Majesty to give them power to call before them such men as they shall thinke fit to conferre with upon oath, or otherwise, as occasion shall offer; that the said Commissioners with all speed, for the better advancement of this honourable and profitable work, may prepare, and report the same unto your Majesty.

*Your Majesties most loyall
and true-hearted Subject.*

THE



THE
SEAT
OF
GOVERNMENT.

That the Seat of Government is upheld by the two great pillars thereof, viz. Civill Justice, and Martiall Policy, which are framed out of Husbandry; Merchandize, and Gentry of this Kingdome.

They say, that the goodliest Cedars which grow on the high mountains of Libanus, thrust their roots between the cliffs of hard Rocks,

rocks, the better to beare themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As Nature hath instructed those Kings of Trees, so hath Reason taught the Kings of Men to root themselves in the hardy hearts of their faithfull Subjects. And as those Kings of Trees have large Tops, so have the Kings of men large Crowns, whereof as the first would be soone broken from their bodies, were they not under-borne by many branches, so would the other easily totter, were they not fastened on their heads, with the strong chaines of Civill Justice, and Marciall Discipline.

1. For the administration of the first, even God himselfe hath given direction, *Judges and Officers shalt thou make, which shall judge the people with righteous judgment.*

2. The second is grounded on the first.

first Lawes of the World and Nature, that force is to be repelled by force. Yea *Moses* in the 20. of *Exodus*, and elsewhere, hath delivered us many Lawes and Polices of Warre. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuse in both, so have we heard of the decline and ruine of many Kingdoms and States long before our dayes; for that Policy hath never yet prevailed (though it hath served for a short season) where the counterfeite hath been sold for the naturall, and the outward shew and formality for the substance. Of the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth, the Writers of that Age witnesse, that he used but the name of Justice and good order, being more learned in the Law, than in doing right, and that hee had by farre, more knowledge than conscience. Certainly the unjust Magistrate that fancieth to himselfe a solid and untransparable body of Gold, every ordinary

dinary wit can vitrifie, and make transparent pierce, and discern their corruptions; howsoever, because not daring, they cover their knowledge, but in the meane while it is also true, that constrained dissimulation, either in the proud heart, or in the oppressed, either in publike estates, or in private persons, where the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the leisure of her lurking, but sharpen her teeth, the voluntary being no lesse base, than the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the Barons of England, and their Kings, betweene the Lords of Switzerland, and their people, betweene the Sicilians, and the French, betweene the Dolphine and *John* of Bargoign, between *Charles* the ninth, and the French Protestants, and between *Henry* the third, his Successor, and the Lords of Guise; and hereof in place of more particulars, the whole world.

world may serve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geography, to delineate, and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is easie enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maintained, it selfe in lasting happinesse, it hath ever acquired more honour by perswading, than by beating; for as the bonds of Reason and Love are immortall, so do all other chains or cords, both rusty and rot noble parts of their owne royall and politick bodies.

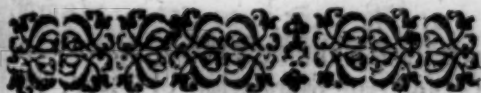
But we will forbear for a while to stretch this first string of Civill Justice; for in respect of the first sort of men, to wit, of those that live by their owne labour, they have never been displeased where they have beene suffered to injoy the fruit of their owne travells, *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and Thine is
all

all wherein they seek the certainty and protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit-Trees of the Land, which God in *Deuteronomie* commanded to be spared, they gather honey, and hardly injoy the wax, and breake the ground with great labour, giving the best of their graine to the easfull and idle.

For the second sort, which are the Merchants, as the first feed the Kingdome, so do these enrich it, yea their Trades, especially those which are forcible, are not the least part of our Martiall policy, as hereafter proved; and to do them right, they have in all ages and times assisted the Kings of this Land, not only with great sums of money, but with great Fleets of Ships in all their interprises beyond the Seas. The second have seldome or never offended their Princes, to enjoy their trades at home upon tolerable

ble conditions, hath ever contented them for the injuries received from other Nations, give them but the Commission of Reprisall, they will either right themselves, or sit downe with their own losse without complaint.

3. The third sort, which are the Gentry of England, these being neither seated in the lowest grounds, and thereby subject to the biting of every beast, nor in the highest mountaines, and thereby in danger to bee torne with tempest; but the valleyes between both, have their parts in the inferiour Justice, and being spread over all, are the Garrisons of good order throughout the Realm.



OBSERVATIONS

Concerning
The Causes of the Magnifi-
cency and Opulency of
CITIES.

That the onely way to civillize
and reforme the savage and bar-
barous Lives, and corrupt Manners of
such people, is,

1. To be dealt withall by gentle
and loving conversation among them,
to attaine to the knowledge of their
Language, and of the multitude of
their speciall discommodities, and in-
conveniencies in their manner of li-
ving.

E 2. The

2. The next is to get an admired reputation amongst them, upon a solid and true foundation of Piety, Justice, and Wisdome, conjoynd with fortitude and power.

3. The third is, discreetly to possess them with a knowledge of the condition of their owne estate. Thus *Orpheus*, and *Amphion* were said to draw after them the beasts of the field, &c.

And this must be first wrought by a visible representation of the certainty, truth, and sincerity of these, together with the felicity of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good advice, for the future profit and felicity of themselves

selves, and their posterity.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be perswaded to withdraw and unite themselves into severall Colonies; that by an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civility, for the better succour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian Faith, and governed under the Magistrates and Ministers of the King, or other superiour power, under whom this Reformation is sought; which course the Stoick tells, that *Thesius* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the Athenians, whereby he united all the people into one City, that before lived dispersedly in many villages. The like

is put in practice at this day by the Portugalls, and Jesuits, that they may with lesse difficulty and hindrance reform the rough behaviour and savage life of the people of Brazeel, who dwell scattered and dispersed in Caves and Cottages made of boughs and leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great, built more than seventy Cities; *Seleucus* built three Cities, called *Appanica*, to the honour of his wife; and five called *Laodicea*, in memory of his mother; and five called *Seleucia*, to the honor of himself.

*Safety for Defence of the People
and their goods, in and near
the Towne.*

IN the situation of Cities, there is to be required a place of safety, by some naturall strength, commodiousnesse for Navigation and Conduct, for the attaining of plenty of all good things, for the sustenance and comfort of mans life, and to draw trade and intercourse of other Nations, as if the same be situate in such sort, as many people have need to repaire thither for some naturall commodity, or other of the Countrey, which by traffick and transportation of commodities, whereof they have more plenty then will supply their owne necessity, or for receiving of things, whereof they have scarcity.

And much better will it be, if the place afford some notable commodity of it selfe, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the same. Likewise, and withall, be so fertile, pleasant, and healthfull of it selfe, that it may afford plenty of good things, for the delight and comfort of the Inhabitants.

In former times, great Nations, Kings, and Potentates have indured sharp conflicts, and held it high policy, by all meanes to increase their Cities, with multitudes of inhabitants. And to this end the Romans ever furnished themselves with strength and power, to make their neighbour people, of necessity, willing to draw themselves to Rome to dwell, and overthrow their Townes and Villages of mean strength, downe to the ground.

So

So did they for this cause utterly destroy many Cities, bringing alwayes the vanquished Captives to Rome, for the augmentation of that City.

Romulus, after a mighty fight with the Sabines, condescended to peace, upon condition that *Tacius* their King should come withall their people to dwell at Rome: *Tacius* did accept, and made choice of the Capitoll, and the Mount Quirinalis for his seat and Pallace.

The same course held *Tamberlaine* the Great, whereby he enlarged the great Sarmacauda, still bringing unto it the richest and wealthiest Citizens he had subdued.

And the Ottomans, to make the City Constantinople rich and great, brought to it many thousand Families, especially Artificers out of the sub-

duced Cities, as Mahomet the Great from *Trabizond*, *Selim* the First from *Cairo*, and *Soliman* from *Tauris*.

Authority and necessity, without the consideration of the conveniences and commodiousnesse of situation above-mentioned, are of small moment in the foundation of a City, thereby only it would be unlikely, either to grow or continue in magnificency or opulency; for if profit, height, and delight, go not companions therewith, no authority or necessity can retain much people or wealth.

But if the place whereupon a City is to be founded, be commodious for the aforesaid conveniences, which help greatly for the felicity of this life, then no doubt, the same is likely to draw much abundance of people and riches unto the same, whereby it may, by the help of Arts and Industry, in time become magnificent and glorious.

F I N I S.

